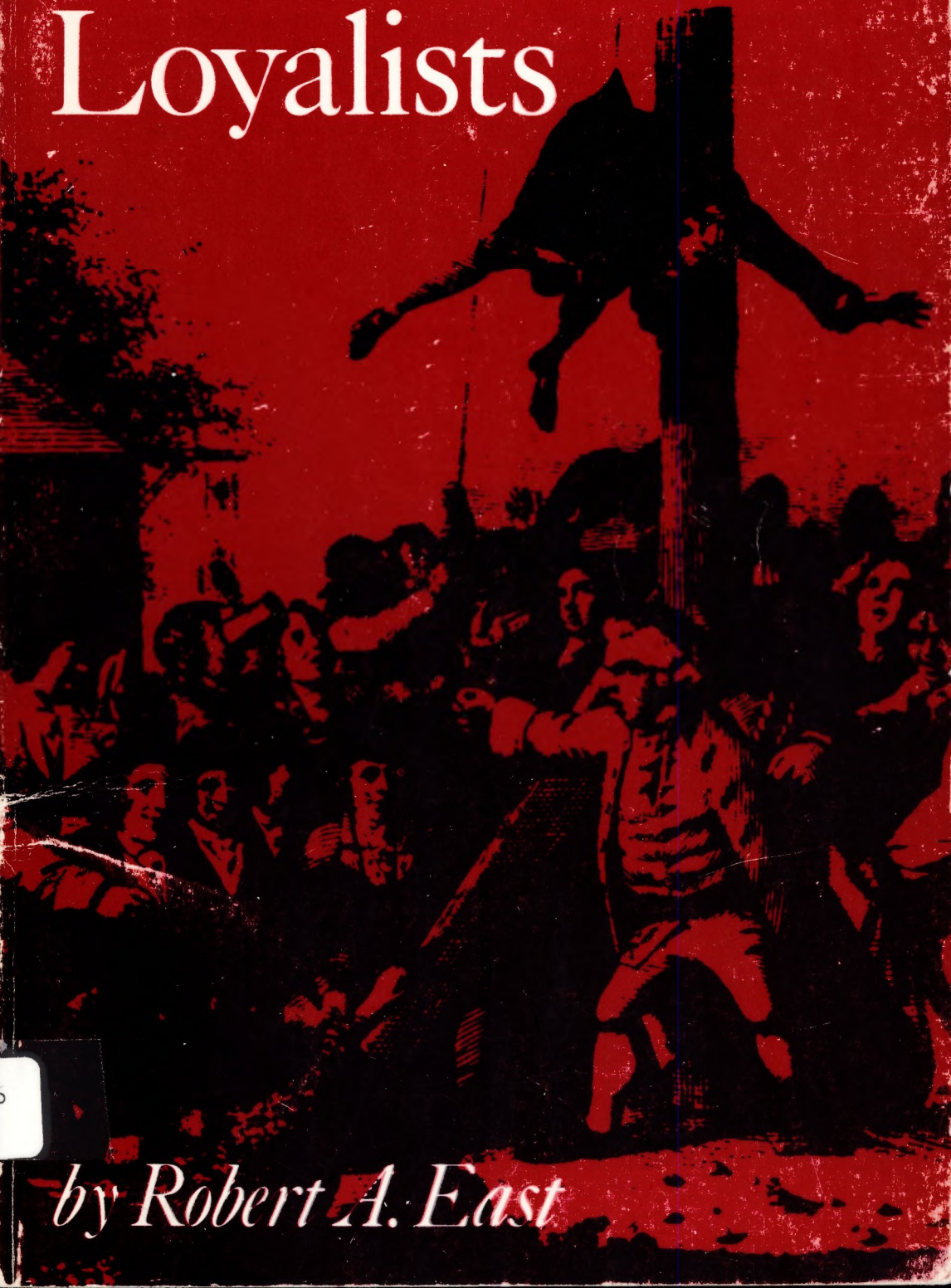
Connecticut's Loyalists



by Robert A. East

As one phase of the Bicentennial observation, The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Connecticut has authorized scholars in a wide range of study to write a series of monographs on the broadly defined Revolutionary Era of 1763 to 1787. These monographs will appear yearly beginning in 1973 through 1980. Emphasis is placed upon the birth of the nation, rather than on the winning of independence on the field of battle.

ROBERT A. EAST (Ph.D., Columbia) is Professor of History at Brooklyn College and Executive Director of the Program for Loyalist Studies and Publications, a project sponsored jointly by the American Antiquarian Society, City University of New York, University of London, and University of New Brunswick. He is the author of *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (1938).

CONNECTICUT BICENTENNIAL SERIES, VI

Connecticut's Loyalists

By ROBERT A. EAST

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Contents

The Land, Its People, And Its History 5

Religious Loyalism 14

Military Loyalism 22

People Like Moses Dunbar 27

The Removal North 39

Rehabilitation 45

Notes 50

Illustrations

Map of the Tory Region 4

William Samuel Johnson 8

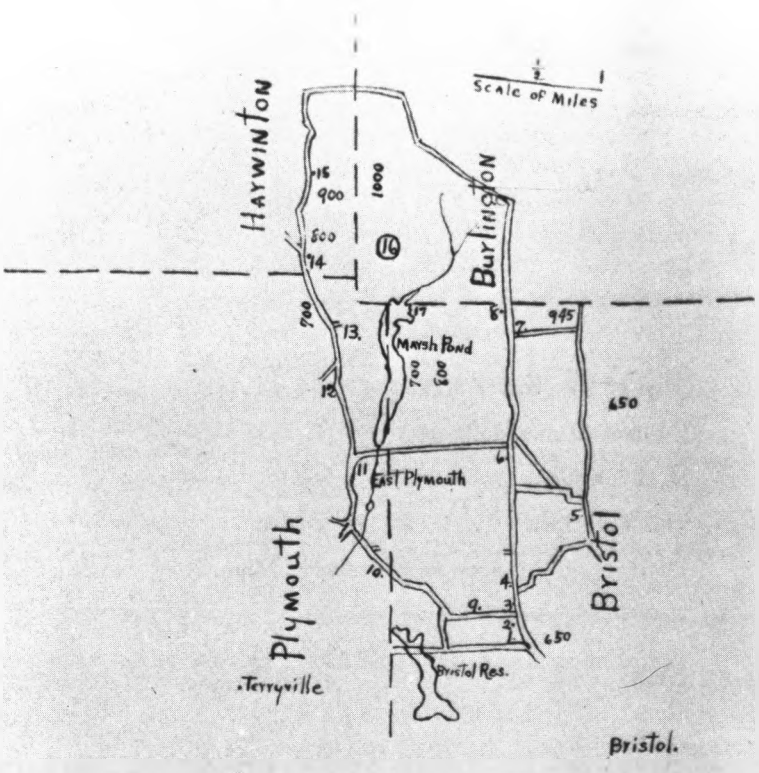
Stringing Up a Tory 11

The Tory Den 17

Drawing of Entrance to New-Gate's Mine 32

New-Gate Prison Today 33

Pamphlet on the Execution of Moses Dunbar 38



Map of the Tory Region

1. Carrington homestead.
2. Nathaniel Matthews homestead.
3. South Chippens Hill Schoolhouse.
4. Constant Loyal Tuttle homestead, built by Caleb Matthews.
5. Hungerford homestead.
6. Jones homestead.
7. North Chippens Hill Schoolhouse.
8. Mount Hope Chapel.
9. Isaac Welles Shelton homestead.
10. Cyrus Gaylord homestead.
11. East Church.
12. Site of Ensn. Ozias Tyler's "New House," destroyed by fire 1905.
13. Roadway entering the ledges toward Tory Den.
14. Fork in roads where Graves was flogged.
15. Stephen Graves homestead.
16. Tory Den.
17. Old Stone Bridge, over which a cross road anciently led to Chippens Hill.

From E. LeRoy Pond, *The Tories of Chippeny Hill, Connecticut.*

The Land, Its People, And Its History

THE land of Connecticut is a fair land throughout, with gentle hills to both east and west and with numerous rivers thrusting fingers to the north, but it is also a land with geographical differences that were more important in colonial times than they are today.

It has three main areas, each with its own agricultural peculiarities: an eastern and a western highland and a central lowland. By the end of the eighteenth century, the high proportion of meadow land given back to "brush pasture" in New London and Windham counties, plus the low percentage of acreage given over to tillage, suggest that many eastern lands had become converted to grazing and were less attractive for cultivation than lands to the south and west. The middle portion of the colony, with its rich alluvial soil bisected by the Connecticut River, had long been known for its fertility.[1]

A diversified agricultural output remained high for the "provisions colony" on the eve of the American Revolution—especially for the fattening of cattle and the exportation of meat products—but some soil exhaustion had already occurred, and a general economic depression beginning in 1764 seems to have hit the eastern towns hardest.

Such regional differences contribute in some degree to an understanding of Connecticut's history in Revolutionary times. Although the transition from tillage to grazing had appeared in all parts of the colony (accompanied by increased irritation between proprietors and dirt farmers, as the value of the common and undivided lands increased), certain economic questions had arisen—such as those pertaining to the rich Susquehanna lands claimed in northern Pennsylvania after 1755, on which the eastern towns were clearly more radical. The towns of the southwest, especially those in Fairfield County, remained more largely under the conservative influence of New York.

Even in matters of religion, some regional differences had appeared. A number of the western towns in pre-Revolutionary years showed a tendency towards episcopacy by establishing Anglican places of worship, while settlements elsewhere tended to cling more exclusively to the traditional Congregationalism. The standing order of the Congregational elders was everywhere still supreme, but this was now being challenged by the spread of Anglicanism in the west, as well as by the divisive effects of the Great Awakening in all parts of the colony, especially in the east.[2]

In short, the "Land of Steady Habits" in pre-Revolutionary years was in something of a ferment, and there were difficulties even in this "Land of Milk and Honey." Despite its traditional sense of social con-

formity and unity, Connecticut had serious regional divisions; and no doubt its people, like so many other colonials, had become aware of the geographical extent of the American West and of the vast territorial stakes in the new imperialist diplomacy.[3]

By the time of the American Revolution, moreover, Connecticut had become a "settled" colony. The last frontier county of Litchfield—which fitted into a rich agricultural belt with neighboring New York—had been established by 1751; and although the eternal process of "filling-in" continued in many older towns, Connecticut might now fairly be described as a densely-settled place. Its public lands were all gone.[4]

On the eve of the revolt, the population of this bustling, and perhaps bursting, colony was just under 200,000 persons—mostly farmers—somewhere in the middle of the thirteen colonies which were soon to become the "original" states. This total had been reached less by reason of "new" immigration in the eighteenth century than by native growth. Population everywhere had more than doubled in each generation (seemingly an American phenomenon well-known to observers such as Benjamin Franklin). Yet the population growth of Connecticut, while great, was not as rapid as that of some other American colonies in late colonial times, and the emigration of her people to more fertile lands had been constant.

The most populous towns lay along the Long Island Sound, often within those areas where seaports were found at the mouths of the rivers. The people as a whole seem to have been uncommonly litigious, frequently engaging in lawsuits of one kind or another, often about land titles.[5]

Like so much of Revolutionary America, the Connecticut colony was overwhelmingly rural. Commerce had grown but slowly, although a "commercial spirit" had spread everywhere. Its principal seaports, notably New Haven and New London, were certainly not in the class of Boston or New York or Philadelphia. Nor was it a land of great estates as in New York or Virginia; colonial Connecticut did not have a landed aristocracy any more than it does today.

So far as imperial controls went, Connecticut was almost an "independent republic" made up of seventy-two more-or-less independent towns. As a corporate colony, even electing its own governor, it abided by British laws only to the extent that it saw fit. It possessed a charter government and "charter rights." To that advocate of high churchmanship, Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford (first president of King's College in New York City in 1754), the charter appeared a menace, not to the Anglican church alone, but also to the Crown's authority;[6] but to Connecticut people generally, it was the symbol by which they had been accustomed to rule themselves.

Since the right to vote was still determined by the small minority

of males who were "admitted members" of the towns, with perhaps an even smaller number of "freemen" participating in colony elections, it is clear that political democracy was by no means desired by Connecticut's leaders, even in the late colonial period.[7] Home rule did not mean "popular" rule, by any means.

Yet new winds of interest were blowing. The election of "popular" officers by enlisted men in the towns' militia ("train bands") had long been known, especially in the eastern towns.[8] A lessening of respect for all kinds of authority had probably resulted from the Great Awakening in the 1740's, again in the eastern towns especially, but also throughout the colony; and a transition from Puritan to Connecticut Yankee is said to have long been under way, *i. e.*, a departure from the traditional virtues of Puritan restraint in the direction of selfishness and self-interest.[9] Perhaps the Land of Steady Habits was already turning into the "Nutmeg State."

The religious demonstrations of the eighteenth century seem to have foreshadowed the shape of things to come, in Connecticut at least. The emergence of a new evangelical faith capable of sustaining new outbursts of energy (perhaps even a new western movement) was everywhere found in some degree. Surely the triumph of the "Old Lights," who opposed this new spirit, was shortlived in Connecticut, to judge by the policy of Rector Thomas Clap of Yale College, who modified his Old Light convictions in the 1750's, even while continuing his dislike of Anglicanism.[10] But whatever the cause, the effect was that New Light interest was to remain with most Connecticut people, as with most Americans, for the next hundred years, in the wake of that gigantic revival of Calvinism originally associated with the name of Jonathan Edwards. Perhaps old Puritanism was now being recast in a new form, fit for new times, new men, and new experiences.

Even the "apostolic" learning of such a tiny sect as the Sandemanians of Danbury must have been small beer in Connecticut's cup of righteousness.[11] It was principally the rapid increase in the number of Anglicans in the eighteenth century, and their high-church demands for a resident bishop, that were disturbing to the Congregationalists. Yet all that the preachers and elders of the established church had to do, even in the face of this particular challenge, was to support in some degree the popular new doctrines of revivalism. Such doctrines seemingly justified defiance of authority in both church and state (which was a paradoxical, not to say dangerous, attitude for them to have assumed), but they seem to have done so more-or-less successfully in the decade before the American Revolution.

The colony itself in these years was in the hands of political "radicals," following the defeat in 1776 of Governor Fitch and his

From John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789.*

conservative backers. The recent tumults over the Stamp Act were a fresh remembrance in people's minds, of course. It was then that the moderate William Samuel Johnson showed a willingness to cooperate with the eastern radicals—as with his life-long friend, Eliphalet Dyer of Windham—by entering into a "plot" to elect a rival candidate.[12] There appears to have been greater unanimity of protest in 1765 than there was to be ten years later.

All this had occurred politically, despite the fact that a "colony tax" had been proven unnecessary in all the years of economic depression and confusion between 1764 and 1770, following British repayment to Connecticut of monies due from the late war. However, this astonishing situation was artfully concealed (or at least never mentioned) by political leaders seeking cause for grievance with Britain.[13]

Such political divisions as were being formed in Connecticut in the late colonial period make one wonder whether differing views about the history of the colony might not also have existed. It is surely of some importance (not altogether to be explained away by simple hatred) that later opposition to a tradition of "blue laws" by the Loyalist Reverend Samuel Peters of Hebron, in his odd but often affectionate *General History of Connecticut,* should have been so devastatingly critical.[14] Peters' views were to be echoed later by Walter Bates of Stamford, when in exile with other Connecticut settlers in Kingston, New Brunswick.

Even the sympathetic treatment by a modern scholar of one period in Connecticut's past has thrown strange light on old "blue law" tendencies there, such as pre-marital relations between the sexes. These had once resulted in the writing of public statutes which a young King's Attorney, Jared Ingersoll of New Haven, thought it necessary to enforce in the 1750's.[15]

It is of course possible that some future Loyalists in Connecticut, like Ingersoll, were becoming aggressors in asserting the rights of the Crown and by emphasizing the idea of law enforcement, long before the American Revolution was ever dreamed of. Later Loyalist attitudes may have been determined by such earlier experiences on the part of those persons who had always wished to exalt the connection with the mother country.

That Americans had always been divinely inspired with a sense of Protestant imperial mission (closely allied to anti-Catholicism) was surely a view widely held by most colonials before 1776; but that Connecticut's own past had been especially marred by the hypocrisy of the "sober dissenters" (*i. e.,* Puritans) and that their cruelty and rapacity towards Indians and slaves had been encouraged by an uncharitable spirit both there and elsewhere, may have been a doctrine deeply cherished by persons other than Samuel Peters.

When one considers the numbers of colonial historians who also became Loyalists, such as Thomas Hutchinson for Massachusetts, William Smith for New York, Robert Proud for Pennsylvania, George Chalmers for Maryland, and Alexander Hewat for South Carolina and Georgia,[16] the thought naturally arises whether there may not have been a bond of sympathy between the thinking of men who habitually took the "long view," and the thinking of the Loyalists of 1776.

Perhaps the American Revolution was to result ideologically in a clash in ideas between persons who took the traditional view of human affairs and persons who did not. Perhaps it was to be a clash between persons who read history primarily, and persons who continued to emphasize the ideology of the Enlightenment. Samuel Peters, of course, took a sound scholarly view when he asserted that rebellious attitudes in America had been encouraged by the Peace of Paris in 1763, which had freed the colonists of fear of "Gallic" perils.[17]

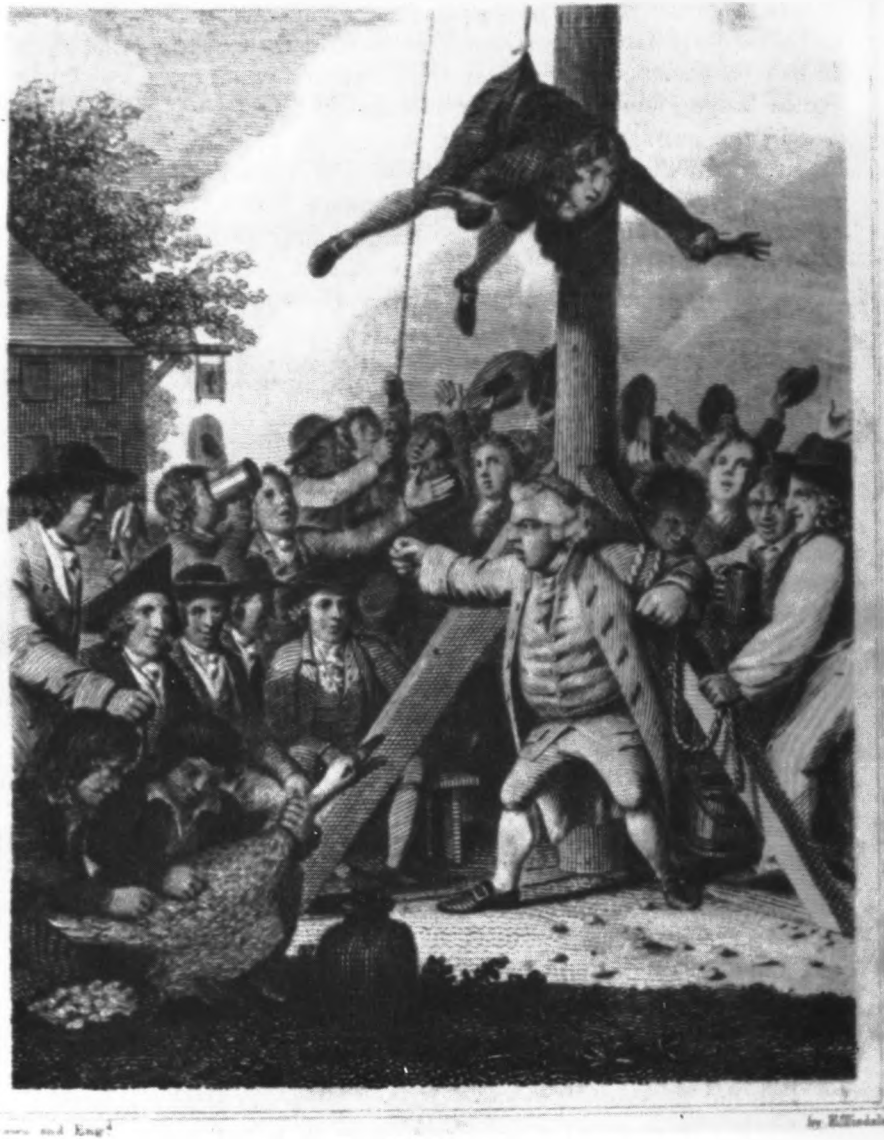
It was the Stamp Act crisis in Connecticut in 1765 which first brought all conflicting factors into focus. Resistance to the enforcement of the Act was doubtless widespread, but it could not have been universal, to judge from the closely-contested election for chief magistrate in Connecticut in 1766, when Governor Fitch was unseated. One argument against him was that he had been too mild in his opposition to the Stamp Act. Even when men appeared to agree in 1765, this must often have been through fear. Conservatives sometimes acquiesced in a demand for conformity against the Stamp Act, in spite of the origin of the tumults having originated in the radical eastern counties.

For example, the "Liberty Boys" in Connecticut, who led in the coercive process in 1765, were primarily a product of eastern Windham County and of its principal politician, Eliphalet Dyer, although the movement gained adherents and a rapid momentum elsewhere.

It is true that the key article in the resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress in New York City in October, 1765, was drafted by a "moderate" Connecticut man (that cautious Anglican, William Samuel Johnson, who denounced all Parliamentary taxation "as the denial of a reasonable measure of civil liberty");[18] but this was not only after the organization of groups of "Sons of Liberty" throughout Connecticut and their coordination with similar violence groups in other colonies, but after the forced resignation of Jared Ingersoll as tax collector as well.

In the beginning it had not been so, and prominent freemen in many towns—including several eastern towns in Windham and New London counties—had originally offered to assist Ingersoll in his duties as Stamp Act distributor.[19]

A list of such persons might be a good beginning for the compila-



Stringing Up a Tory, from *Trumbull's Works.*

tion of a list of "Tories" in Connecticut, except that that term had not as yet come into general use, although it was to become well-known several years later.

In any case, it was the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 that some Loyalists were later to denounce so bitterly as an early instance of British "fickleness," as the Reverend Samuel Peters of Connecticut (or as Judge Peter Oliver of Massachusetts) might have put it.

In the years 1766 to 1774, at the end of which another election finally sealed the doom of the conservatives, the colony of Connecticut continued to be distracted by sectional feeling. This was exacerbated by the renewal of the Susquehanna claims, and by the persistence of religious differences (despite the decline in Connecticut of the activities of the Anglican Society For the Propagation of the Gospel, at the insistence of many of the local clergy who feared a civil war).[20] Although prosperity had returned briefly in 1771, it was shortly followed by renewed bankruptcies of merchants and other businessmen.

With the defeat of the conservatives in the colony-wide elections of 1774, the American Revolutionary movement may fairly be said to have begun in the Land of Steady Habits. Governor Jonathan Trumbull, long associated with the fortunes of the Susquehannah Company, was triumphantly re-elected. The kinds of liberties that the conservatives had long so carefully distinguished between, *i. e.*, "lawful and licentious liberty," were now all but forgotten; and although Trumbull himself was occasionally critical of mob actions, some persons now came to identify this with an American quest for "liberty." By the spring of 1774, it was already doubtful whether all Connecticut Yankees were still willing to honor the King.

Between 1774 and 1776—those years of decision whether to switch allegiance from King to Continental Congress—the conservative position deteriorated rapidly in Connecticut, as the "Tory" situation was quickly and forcefully dealt with by Committees of Safety and other local bodies. Connecticut's Tories and moderates were now almost desperate, harassed sometimes by mobs and generally devoid of any official protection. Some radicals were now even maintaining that popular proceedings were not acts of violence at all, but "cool remonstrances."[21]

Can the Tories of this period, 1774-1776, be designated Loyalists? Should they be included in the list of persons who rejected the American Revolutionary movement in Connecticut?[22]

Obviously, the answer to this question must depend on the individual concerned. Some men were quite simply conservatives, as opposed to radicals, on such issues as the Susquehannah claims. Such men cannot be considered Loyalists in the sense of those persons who were to resist the authority of the Continental Congress and to refuse

to change allegiance from their king. These latter were clearly Loyalists, even if later events were to change their minds. The die-hard Tory Assemblyman from Redding, William Heron, is an example. Surely any man who resisted the new order of things to the extent of joining a Loyalist regiment would also have to be considered a Loyalist, even if he later accepted a pardon and returned home. The same would have to be said for all persons who left for their religious or political reasons, but who also returned.

Furthermore, there was already in existence a separate class of men, sometimes called "Whig-Loyalists," *i. e.*, patriotic Americans who had protested against the violation of American rights but who now disapproved of the new order of things (which, after all, was not so new in Connecticut, since there was no fundamental change in the governmental structure as the colony proceeded to turn itself into a state). A good example in Connecticut would be William Samuel Johnson of Stratford, a friend of the patriot Eliphalet Dyer, a one-time member of the Stamp Act Congress, and subsequently an agent for the colony in England. Johnson was a counselor of Anglican faith even after the upset election of 1766, was a high churchman and the son of a high churchman, and had become increasingly conservative as the decade after the Stamp Act progressed; but although he had originally been opposed to Parliament's right to tax Americans, he was also opposed to a new order of things. After 1776, he simply retired to his Connecticut home, and refused to support a war against either his neighbors or against the Crown.

Yet Johnson eventually not only swore allegiance to the United States of America, but he even participated as a Founding Father in the writing of the Constitution of the United States in 1787. He must be called a Whig-Loyalist in 1767, *i. e.*, a Loyalist with Whig principles. There must have been many such persons throughout the colony. The Secretary of the Colony, George Wyllys, seems to have been a like-minded man. Men of sound Whig principles might oppose a change of allegiance, *i. e.*, they might refuse to become rebels.

On the other hand, consider the case of Benjamin Gale of Killingsworth, who was seemingly converted in 1776 and swore allegiance to the new order of things, but whose background had been conservative to a fault. Gale had been a staunch opponent of all radicals, New Lighters, and Susquehanna schemers, had said in 1767 that the Stamp Act tumults had laid the foundation for America becoming an "Independent State," and had predicted that the years to follow would be a period of "Slaughter and Blood." Yet Benjamin Gale seems to have been nothing much more than a conservative at heart. He can not be called a "Whig-Loyalist."

In Connecticut, as elsewhere, there must have been persons, like Peter Van Schaack of New York, who could become Loyalists on

philosophical grounds alone, simply by having been readers of books on political theory;[23] but Gale appears to have been a man who merely disgustedly gave in to the tide of political events. He therefore cannot be called a Loyalist, only a saddened conservative.

The Whig-Tory struggle in Connecticut in 1774-1776 may have developed logically out of the Radical-Conservative struggle of ten years earlier, but in individual cases the term "Tory" did not necessarily mean Loyalist after 1776. Many Loyalists may have once been Tories, but not all Tories became Loyalists. Some Tories must originally have considered themselves "realists" in having respect for imperial order and the British fleet; but this did not necessarily make them Loyalists in the long run.

Loyalists (or Royalists, or King's men, as they were variously called) must everywhere be considered as persons who refused to switch allegiance at any time, in 1776 or later. They surely include persons who left their homes early in the conflict because of their political or religious opinions, or who left later because of persecution (even if many of them did return after the war). They surely include all Connecticut men who enlisted in Loyalist regiments; they surely include all persons who subsequently resettled in New Brunswick; and, finally, they surely include all persons who became claimants for compensation from the British government after 1783, or who had been recipients of pensions and support from the British in New York City during the war.

In the long run, the true Loyalists of Connecticut must have been a small minority of men indeed. They are worthy of re-study, not so much because of their minority status, but because of the intensity of their convictions as to the necessity for authority in human affairs, because of the courage they often displayed, and because of their ultimate destiny. They were dissenters and imperialists in an age of conformity and nationalism.

Religious Loyalism

Loyalism in Connecticut during the American Revolution seems to have been geographically concentrated in the western towns, especially in Fairfield County.

Court records show that there were seven times as many "Tory" cases in Fairfield in 1779-1782 as in New Haven County, which is

next. The towns of Norfolk, Stamford, Fairfield, Ridgefield, Newtown, Danbury, Greenwich, Stratford, and Redding, in that order, are the places most commonly cited. For Litchfield County, also, there are a few such cases; but for the eastern counties, legal cases involving "Tories" are very rare.[1]

In only a few of the western towns, however, could the Tories at any time muster substantial opposition to the Revolutionary spirit. In Ridgefield, in December, 1775, mob activities overthrew "Tory rule" (which had repudiated the authority of the Continental Congress); but as early as that same month the Connecticut Assembly passed its first law against *all* Tories, prohibiting the taking-up of arms in the King's name under the penalty of loss of estate and imprisonment. In June, 1776, the penalty was extended to cover all personal property, and eventually "Tory treason" was made punishable by death.

In the spring of 1775, the Connecticut Assembly also authorized the setting-up of from fifteen to thirty men as local committees of safety or inspection in the towns, under a state-wide Council of Safety to deal with emergencies. From that time on, vigilante control was tightened everywhere, averting any prospect of civil war in the western counties, and suppressing all subjects who might be suspected by their neighbors of holding dissenting opinions. By October, 1776, the King's name had been completely deleted from all governmental references, even in the Charter; freemen in Connecticut were now being required to take a special oath of allegiance to the State.[2]

This vigilante character of the Whig government in control of Connecticut early in the war should never be underestimated. There is some truth in what one "Tory" suspect said he had heard (when under investigation in New Milford in May, 1776), that there never would have been any opposition to "ministerial measures" in the neighboring province of New York "had it not been for Connecticut." He had been told that the four regiments raised by the Provincial Congress there had been only for "outside show."

Thus, the crisis in Western Connecticut was vigorously and promptly dealt with even before July, 1776, perhaps more vigorously there than in any other place in the revolting colonies, with prisons and places of confinement being offered for use by other states. All fear of Tories seems to have subsided in Connecticut by the spring of 1777. Indeed, pardons were now offered by law to all persons who had absented themselves (a few hundred accepted and returned), although in May, 1778, still another severe confiscation act was passed by the State Assembly against persons who had voluntarily joined the enemy, possibly because such persons were continuing to escape to British rule on Long Island and in New York City.

Perhaps 2,000 to 2,500 Connecticut men could be considered Tories at the outset of the war, about six percent of the adult population (as estimated by the Reverend Ezra Stiles, future president of Yale College), and largely concentrated in Fairfield County. Connecticut as a whole may have had a lower percentage of Loyalist claimants at the end of the Revolution than any other state with three exceptions (the Carolinas and Georgia); yet a quarter of her citizens west of the Stratford River are said to have been loyal, at first.[3]

This interesting geographical division in Connecticut in 1774-1776 between Whig and Tory (or between Radical and Conservative, if you wish)[4] is commonly attributed to the strength of the Episcopal faith in the western area, although the nearness of Fairfield County to New York should not be forgotten, nor the generally prosperous condition of its farmers. That Toryism in Connecticut was "less secular than sectarian" in character was argued impressively by a scholar about a century ago.[5]

No doubt religion was an important ideological factor in this matter, although why, in the last analysis, any individual should have remained loyal after 1776 will probably always remain a mystery. Each person must have had his or her own reasons.

Such reasons might even have resulted from membership in the tiny Loyalist religious sect of Sandemanians in Danbury and neighboring places, although such reasons may also have accounted for some persons having joined the sect in the first place. In any case, the Sandemanians (or Glassites, as they were sometimes called), while few in number, were thorns in the flesh of the Congregational clergy, since they professed to have an apostolic understanding for Christian behaviour which their supposedly learned brethren lacked. This was extremely galling to the latter.

The Sandemanians also had certain interesting behaviour characteristics, such as having the brothers and sisters indulge in a "holy kiss" of peace on entering service. They may have become political Loyalists because Robert Sandeman had only recently come over from Scotland, but for whatever reason, he had taught his followers the necessity of obeying their earthly king. As a matter of conscience, a number of his "disciples" in New Haven requested the General Assembly of Connecticut early in the war for permission to remove to some place "under the dominion of the King." This was permitted, except in one case where a considerable amount of real estate was involved.

No more favorable description of the Sandemanians was ever given than that by the partisan Samuel Peters of Hebron. Although Robert Sandeman was admittedly Calvinist, he was said to have been the "fairest and most candid" Calvinist who ever wrote in English. His followers had been taught to believe in bishops—even in bishops

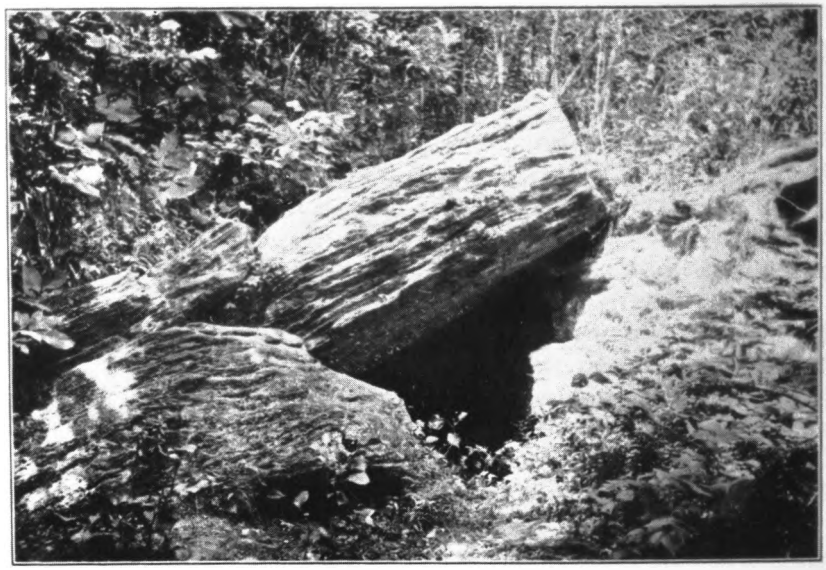
being gaily attired and wearing swords—but not in the right of the clergy to marry a second time, or even to receive salaries.

Robert Sandeman had been called a religious heretic. His followers were also considered heretics in political matters during the Revolution, perhaps to an even greater extent than were those other and far more numerous political "heretics," the Anglicans.

The Anglican faith was of course of profound signficance to many people in western Connecticut, although it has been pointed out that while most Loyalists were undoubtedly Anglicans, not all Anglicans became Loyalists.

Perhaps a secular, or even a Diestic, spirit was sometimes observable in eighteenth-century America, but, if so, it could have affected religious people in Connecticut very little—unless, indeed, Deism had penetrated the Anglican church itself. It had surely never influenced the Sandemanians. The religious quarrel between "rationalism" and "enthusiasm" (*i. e.*, between traditional Congregationalism and the revived Calvinism), was probably only a part of the general philosophical quarrel of the age. Whether man is to be considered as rational or irrational, seems to have been the question at the root of the problem.

The philosophical skepticism for which the sceptical Scot, David Hume, had paved the way in his writings ("I feel, therefore I am"), had apparently made little impression upon the optimistic Americans



The Tory Den

From E. LeRoy Pond, *The Tories of Chippeny Hill, Connecticut.*

of 1776. Yet a degree of social pessimism was already threatening to return in the guise of the new currents of cynicism which had begun to undermine the Enlightenment in Europe.

It was the work of the S. P. G.—the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts which had been founded long before by King William III and subsequently given a great push in the American colonies by pious Queen Anne—which had especially alarmed the Congregational preachers and elders in Connecticut.

The S. P. G. supported ordained priests in American Anglican pulpits to about £50 a year each, in the hope of encouraging the spread of the "true religion." Since most Congregationalists in New England already considered themselves good Christians, and scarcely in need of "conversion," the whole movement would have become something of a joke, had it not been for its emphasis on "high churchmanship," which aimed at bringing an Anglican bishop to America. Out of 27 "missionaries" (*i. e.*, Anglican priests thus supported) in New England in 1763, there were fifteen in Connecticut alone, and all but one Anglican parish there had been thus filled at one time or another. Anglicanism had grown amazingly in the Land of Steady Habits in the early eighteenth-century. Forty-five new Anglican churches had been erected in Connecticut between 1723 and 1770. There were then 40 Anglican parishes west of the Connecticut River, and five parishes to the east. Although a cooling-off period had developed, as British officials and local clergy viewed with alarm the growing political antagonisms after 1764, the Quebec Act of 1774 once again lighted the fires of religious controversy.[8]

Connecticut may have had many Anglicans who possessed the zeal of converts, but if the Reverend Samuel Peters of Hebron is to be believed, its leaders stood in happy contrast to their counterparts in the "low-church" Southern colonies. There, he declared, the Anglican clergy was filled with "immorality" and "vanity" and a "love of self-government," which had even led priests to cooperate with "dissenters" in opposing the idea of an American bishop.[9]

To the Reverend Peters of Connecticut (as also in later years to Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania), all pre-Revolutionary political cooperation between the colonies had first begun with the interdenominational activities of the Dissenters—Congregational, Baptists, and Presbyterians. They had first met in a "national" Convention at New Haven in 1764, he said, because they were trying to make Connecticut take the lead in expressing anti-British feeling, in addition to checking the activities there of the venerable S. P. G. Something like this had indeed taken place in 1766, although not necessarily with the intentions or the dire political results which Peters deduced.[10]

Delegates to the annual conventions of the Congregational Associations in Connecticut between 1766 and 1775 apparently kept a

careful eye on the membership growth and high-church tendencies of Anglicans. The notion of an Anglican episcopate, *i. e.*, of a resident bishop for all the colonies, was denounced by Congregationalists as a threat to both religious and civil liberty in America, and was said to forecast "unmerciful rigor" and "persecution" in religious matters. The Congregational clergy declared that such ideas enlarged the danger of political "separation" and "independence" from the mother country, and dissenter friends in London were urged to use their influence in opposition.

But the American Congregational clergy should have had little to fear. Political figures in England, notably the Duke of Newcastle, had long been unfriendly to the idea of a bishop resident in America; and even English prelates (always exempting the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker, who died in 1768) were far from enthusiastic.[11]

The idea of an Episcopate for America was apparently always more widely held in Connecticut and New York than ever it was in Old England. It speaks volumes for the simplistic American viewpoint that the young American colonial, Samuel Seabury, when in London seeking ordination, had been horrified to see the Archbishop of Canterbury giving a friendly carriage ride to a leading English dissenting cleryman.

Yet the King's church had grown so rapidly in Connecticut that, despite the loss of Anglican leadership to the New York area by 1768, it continued to be known as a region of religious enthusiasts. For fifty years, beginning with the conversion of the Cutler and Johnson group at Yale in 1722, its high churchmanship had stood in contrast to the more traditional low churchmanship of the Southern colonies, as it sought to establish a "primative" episcopate.[12]

The reasons for success in Connecticut are not clear, and one must of course dismiss the Reverend Samuel Peters' claim (as against neighboring Massachusetts and Rhode Island) that it was easier to turn fanatical farmers from bigotry, than to convert fanatical merchants, smugglers, and fishermen.[13]

Perhaps the growth of the King's church in Connecticut was just another instance of a general offensive being undertaken there in the King's name in the eighteenth century, such as in the law enforcement program begun by Jared Ingersoll. No doubt the Venerable Society itself had been for many years on the offensive in religious matters there. It had certainly encouraged "missionary" activities on the part of the King's clergy everywhere.

For whatever reasons, by the time of the American Revolution, a triangular relationship had been evolved between high-church Episcopalians in New York, Connecticut, and Long Island that was to bear remarkable Loyalist fruit in the years to come. A battle con-

tinued everywhere between supporters of "church" and "meeting house," although even a few Congregational ministers in that area were to show "Tory" leanings in 1776.

Who were these Connecticut Anglican Loyalists of the American Revolution—those Episcopal communicants who were accustomed to saying prayers for the King and Royal Family from the Book of Common Prayer, and who now refused to change their prayers?

Most of these communicants are, of course, unknown to history, since their original church affiliations are lost; but their leaders are known and can be mentioned by name.

From the beginning of the conflict, the Anglican clergy were regarded with profound displeasure by the "Whigs," as was the Reverend Richard Mansfield of Derby who had to bear his share of the "load of scurrility and reproach, which was plentifully heaped on the heads of all the friends to peace, by being called a Tory, a Papist, and an enemy of my country." Mansfield eventually had to flee his parish, leaving his nine children behind him. Some Anglican churches were even closed for short periods of time to avoid public controversy, and some of the leaders, like the Reverend John Sayre of Trinity Church in Fairfield, found themselves unable to proceed in public worship at any time with what they considered to be "mutiliated" books (*i. e.*, books with prayers for the King left out).[14]

Sayre, who, like so many of the clergy, also practiced medicine, wrote from Flushing, New York in 1779 of all the indignities he had suffered at Fairfield in 1776. His house had once been beset by "more than 200 armed horsemen," and he had been publicly listed as an enemy to his country "in every store, mill, mechanical shop and public house" and repeatedly in the newspapers; he had once been banished from Fairfield (although allowed to return to continue his medical practice), and had finally taken refuge with the British at the time of General Tryon's raid. Yet few of the clergy could have been as outspoken as Sayre, or as the Reverend Samuel Andrews of Wallingford, who, while admitting that resistance was a natural thing, had preached a sermon in July, 1775, from Amos 5:21, "I hate, I despise your feast days . . .," and that on the very day that the Continental Congress had requested to set aside for prayer and fasting.

There were, of course, many other Anglican martyrs to the temper of the times, such as the Reverend John Marshall of Woodbury, or the Reverend John Beach of Newtown and Redding. The latter died before the end of the war, and Marshall remained a life-long invalid from a beating received because of an alleged lack of patriotism. His church, like Anglican churches elsewhere, had been stoned and the windows broken when feeling had run high.

The Reverend John Marshall had had a bad reputation with the "Whigs" from the very beginning. In October, 1775, evidence against

him had been heard by the Connecticut General Assembly to the effect that Marshall had told people that "our men" had begun the fire at Lexington, and that the Assembly was no doubt about to do some "devilish act" in the way of raising men for Boston. He was also charged with having said that if he could enlist, it would be on General Gage's side, and that if Gage had hanged some members of the Congress, the country would be at peace. As late as 1779, he was preaching belligerently (if less specifically) that the condemnation of men on the Day of Judgment would be because they had been "workers of iniquity," and that if anyone asserted the contrary, he was making the word of God "a Bundle of Lies."

Of the score of Anglican clergymen who had had one or more parishes in Connecticut in 1774, at least seven are known to have solved the conflict inherent in the King's religion by fleeing to the British lines during the war, or by later removing with many of their parishioners to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick (which were the same place until the latter was made a separate province in 1784).

Of this number, six Connecticut clergymen—the Reverend John Sayre of Fairfield, the Reverend John Scovill of Waterbury, the Reverend Samual Andrews of Wallingford, the Reverend Samuel Clark of New Milford, the Reverend Roger Viets of Simsbury, and, of course, the Reverend Samuel Peters of Hebron—are known to have left their parishes, and all but Peters, to have settled after 1783 in the maritime regions of the north.

About the seventh exile, the Reverend James Nichols of Bristol, little seems to be known beyond the fact that he, too, eventually moved to Nova Scotia.

One might speculate about an eighth exile to New Brunswick, the Reverend John Beardsley of Poughkeepsie, New York, who had moved there from Norwich, Connecticut, shortly before the war. Beardsley's background is so similar in so many ways to that of the ministerial persons mentioned above, that he probably should be included with them. His later career was also often intermingled with theirs.

None of these religious exiles seems ever to have returned to Connecticut to stay. Few in number, they carried a permanent episcopal authority to the people of the new lands in the Maritime provinces. Some of them, like the Reverend Roger Viets of Simsbury, did later make occasional trips "home," or at least planned to make such trips. (Viets was troubled at late as 1797 by rumors that he merely wanted to return as a British spy, whereas he probably only wanted to get a few onions in Wethersfield.) But none ever returned permanently. A majority of the Anglican priests in Connecticut thus found new homes in a far country.[15]

As in the case of the self-exiled Anglican clergymen of Connecticut, so, also, for the men who became soldier-Loyalists during the American Revolution, new homes eventually had to be sought in the north. It was principally in the upper St. John River valley of the "Loyalist Province" of New Brunswick (set off from Nova Scotia in 1784) that large blocks of land were assigned after the American Revolution to the officers and men who had served in Loyalist regiments.

The departure of these men from New York City in 1783 was a part of a general Loyalist exodus of some thirty thousand persons in all, if one includes wives, children, and servants. It must have been one of the great treks in all human history. Soldiers of Loyalist regiments (*i. .e*, "Provincials") and civilian heads of families alike, had been promised grants of land, and many of the latter chose to settle at the mouth of the river at the site of the new town of Saint John.

Numerous Connecticut men are to be found among those persons who were evacuated in 1783 under the supervision of Sir Guy Carleton, the new British Commander-in-Chief. The resulting diaspora was not unlike that simultaneously taking place in South Carolina, Georgia, and Eastern Florida to the new lands in the Bahamas being granted there to Loyalists.

Perhaps the movements of all such people after the American Revolution was simply a part of the answer to hopes for land expansion long held by many Connecticut men, as apparently had been true in the old dispute over the Susquehanna claims. A movement to the north had long been demonstrated by land-hungry people as they moved up the Housatonic Valley into the Berkshires and into the Hoosic River Valley. Young Justus Sherwood of Newtown, Connecticut, the later "Vermont Loyalist," is an example.

The American Revolution must have been an expansive force of great power, in this as in so many other ways. Old bottles may have been replaced with new bottles, but the fermenting wine was often the same.[1]

In any case, this history of the Loyalists of Revolutionary Connecticut now became indissolubly linked with that of an English-speaking province in the Canadian north.

It should be emphasized that the American Revolution had been a bloody contest, taking place on many battlefields as well as on occasional "neutral" grounds. Volunteers for Loyalist military service had escaped from Connecticut to Long Island as early as 1776, and by July of that year, Stephen Hoit of Norfolk had raised a full com-

pany for Brigadier-General Montfort Browne's Prince of Wales American Volunteers.[2]

Many of these volunteers had come from nearby Fairfield County. Indeed, Connecticut men seem largely to have filled the Prince of Wales American Regiment in the early years.

Another important Loyalist regiment composed primarily of Connecticut men was the Queen's Rangers, many of whose recruits also came from Fairfield County.

A third Loyalist corps drawing heavily on western Connecticut was Colonel Edmund Fanning's King's American Regiment. Its commander was a native of Long Island and a Yale graduate.

It is possible that considerable military interest was also displayed by Connecticut men during the war in the activities of the two DeLancey regimental corps, either on Long Island or in the "neutral ground" of Westchester County, New York.[3] There apparently was an opportunity for all kinds of nefarious activities in those places.

Approximately one-third of all Connecticut men who ultimately removed to the new Province of New Brunswick had had military service of one kind or another in one of these American Loyalist regiments, or had served as guides or pilots, or as armed boatmen.

The Prince of Wales American Regiment was clearly the most important of all Loyalist military organizations so far as Connecticut enlistments were concerned. Whole families sometimes furnished volunteers, although families were often divided. By the end of 1777, the corps is said to have numbered 470 officers and men, although this number soon sank to a little over 100, as shown in the muster roll of February, 1779.[4]

It is strange to consider that no "Connecticut" Loyalist regiment as such was ever organized, although such regiments did exist for most other colonies, *e. g.*, for New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina. Connecticut men may have earlier volunteered among regiments with all-inclusive titles, such as the New England Loyalist Regiment, the Prince of Wales American Regiment, the King's American Regiment; or Connecticut may always have been less troubled with Loyalism than were some other places. Perhaps both things were true, in part.

Whatever degree of enthusiasm for military Loyalism there may have been in Connecticut should be measured against any inducements that were offered there by "recruiters," especially in the early part of the war. For example, by the time Colonel Edmund Fanning got his commission for the King's American Regiment in 1777, large subscriptions of money had already been raised by local Tories in New York City in support of the idea. Perhaps such support enabled a Loyalist volunteer from Stratford, Connecticut, to "recruit" a number of men for the King's service there that year.

It was, however, always a matter of pride with some contemporaries that Loyalism was sufficiently strong everywhere to support an American regiment without inducements of any kind. "Such spirited conduct deserves applause," wrote General Browne to Colonel Edward Winslow in June, 1777, as he proudly announced that "A company of Gentlemen, each of good fortune, are on their way hither to joyne me, they decline pay, or any inducement whatsoever. . . ."[5] Presumably he was referring to an addition to the Prince of Wales American Regiment of which we have already noted that he was the Commander.

How many Connecticut men served as military Loyalists will never be known. Muster rolls are incomplete, and many men had died in service or had returned home before the remnant went to Canada as the end of the war.

From the Town of Waterbury, Connecticut, for example, a list of sixty-eight citizens who left to join the British (in addition to the ill-fated Moses Dunbar who was hanged at Hartford in March, 1777), has long been known; yet the record is replete with such references as "died on Long Island," "died with the British," "died of smallpox," "died in New York," etc. While some persons are said to have "returned" disillusioned, and some to have gone "to Nova Scotia," the impression remains that most men in service from there had died during the war.[6]

The Town of Waterbury seems to have experienced all kinds of Loyalist troubles early in the Revolution. At the very beginning of the war, the officers of the "train band" of the West Company of Northbury (*i. e.*, Waterbury) were investigated on petition, and their views discovered to be "inimical to the Constitution of the Colony." The officers were found "disaffected to the American cause," and they were subsequently cashiered and dismissed from office—or presumably so, although a copy of the official resolve is missing from the Connecticut State Archives.[7]

Most Connecticut volunteers in Loyalist regiments were spirited across Long Island Sound in the depths of night, to take refuge in the communities of Loyalists at Lloyd's Neck or at Eaton's Neck on opposite sides of Huntington Bay. It is significant that a number of settlers in New Brunswick after the war called themselves "pilots"; one suspects that they had been so employed in this role during the war days. Walter Bates of Stamford tells us that in 1778 his brother and "hundreds of others" passed by night over to Lloyd's Neck. Pilots like John Ketchum of Norwalk, or John Gable of Glastonbury, directed transportation across the Sound from time to time. Azariah Pritchard of Derby claimed to have landed at least 160 persons on the opposite shore from Milford Bay in 1776 and early 1777.

The military zeal of the Connecticut volunteers was doubtless increased from time to time by stories about the hit-and-run raids of DeLancey's "cowboys" in Westchester County (as James Fenimore Cooper was to remember them so colorfully—perhaps too colorfully—in *The Spy*). The action of the DeLancey regiment probably more closely resembled traditional warfare than it did the notorious "freebooting," but the latter was encouraged by occasional forays made into Connecticut by the British military forces in New York City.

Some of these forays were in retaliation for earlier raids from the Patriot side, such as that into Westchester in 1775 to seize the Reverend Samuel Seabury, "the Westchester Farmer" of pamphleteering fame, who had been captured and taken to New Haven for six weeks' captivity. When released, Seabury returned to New York and subsequently acted as chaplain for Fanning's Regiment. This is the same Samuel Seabury who was to become the first American Bishop of the Episcopal Church after the termination of the war.

In April, 1777, General William Howe ordered General Tryon to attack Danbury, Connecticut, with 2,000 troops, including the Prince of Wales American Regiment (largely made up of Connecticut volunteers, as we have seen), and to destroy all Continental military stores there. The invaders landed in the region of the Saugatuck River, and spent the night at Weston. A "drunken retreat" (as it is patriotically called) was highlighted the next day by counter-attacks by General Benedict Arnold and other local Patriots, attacks not unlike those which had been made on the British retreat from Lexington at the very outbreak of hostilities. A number of local British sympathizers, and some of the guides for this ill-fated military foray into Connecticut by the British Regulars and the Loyalist regiments, are later found among the exiles.

When in July, 1779, Norwalk, Connecticut, was invaded and burned by the British under General Tryon, and New Haven attacked, a number of local sympathizers again returned with the British to New York. It was on this occasion that the Loyalist carpenter, Silas Raymond of Norwalk, is supposed to have set fire to his house, saying that "the miserable rebels" should not enjoy his property.[9] On this same occasion, Joshua Chandler and Amos Botsford, attorneys of New Haven, together with Abiathar Camp, a merchant of that place, made the final decision to leave their homes. So did the Reverand John Sayre of Fairfield, the Reverend Jeremiah Leaming of Norwalk, and Jonathan Ketchum, a tavern keeper of the latter place.

Two years later, the turncoat Arnold, now on the British side, together with General Joshua Upham of Brookfield, Massachusetts, participated in an attack on New London in cooperation with the British fleet. Arnold, a difficult personality who had not been above beating up "Tory" neighbors in earlier years when he had been a

vigorous "Whig," was now accused of trying to burn down a town near his native Norwich, perhaps in revenge for some fancied wrong.

Obviously, it was a part of British military strategy to employ as many local Loyalist volunteers as possible when making strikes at places in Connecticut.

The Prince of Wales American Regiment also served in distant places, as in the savage fighting in South Carolina and Georgia in 1780 and 1781, and the Queen's Rangers under Major John Graves Simcoe was actually present at the surrender at Yorktown. Both regiments had originally been composed primarily of Connecticut volunteers, as already noted, and may had continued so.

It probably was at this time that several Connecticut men became enrolled in a South Carolina Loyalist regiment. At least one of them who later settled in New Brunswick laid claim to military fame thus won in the American South.

Some military service in the northern areas, as with Burgoyne at Saratoga, may have been the result of knowledge of the territory in Vermont and elsewhere, due to the need for cattle importation into Connecticut in colonial times.

To ascertain the strength of military Loyalism in Connecticut, one must turn to the history of the Loyalist settlers in the maritime provinces of the north. Since muster rolls of Loyalist regiments during the Revolution years are so unrevealing as to places of origin, the names of such settlers are of unusual significance.

It is also important to notice that criticism of British military attitudes toward the Loyalists had been widespread among American volunteers. Unfortunate experiences with the British military authorities were undoubtedly had by many Connecticut Loyalists, although the most severe strictures are to be found in the writings of that Loyalist extrovert, Edward Winslow of Plymouth, Massachusetts, the "Muster Master General" of all Loyalist regiments.

Not only is the charge of indifference towards the Loyalist volunteers on the part of the British generals accepted by modern scholars,[7] but Winslow's letters show contempt for most of the British high command, including scarcely-veiled criticism of General William Howe, himself. (Howe was accused of always having been cool to giving American volunteers any kind of a welcome.) Said Winslow, "I have uniformly asserted and I most sincerely believe that those Corps [of Provincial troops] if duly encouraged would have been much more respectable in point of numbers . . . and if properly employed would have contributed largely towards suppressing the rebellion in America." Scoundrels were said to have been shown favoritism at the expense of suffering, venerable "friends of government" (as the Loyalists liked to refer to themselves), and "Coxcombs-Fools-Blackguards" to have been made officers in the Provincial corps. This

apparently referred to British officers having sometimes been used in the voluntary regiments.

American volunteers, unaccustomed to severity and discipline, were said by Winslow to have been made miserable by the British; any questions they raised about renewing two-year enlistments were called "ungentlemanly." Sad to relate, certain opportunistic American refugees had originally encouraged the Provincials to think of themselves as volunteers only for activity in particular provinces, and had "seduced men into the service" by unwarranted promises that the volunteers would not be called on "any emergency" from their places of origin. The idea of revenge for persecution and injuries suffered was also said to have been a major inducement for such volunteering.

There is something of an "American ring" in some of these charges. In 1781, the British troops were sarcastically said by Winslow to have at long last learned a few lessons in military tactics from the Americans (including the idea of taking refuge behind trees), and to have learned that professional training alone did not cover all military needs. Winslow even expressed the hope (at least to himself, for he scratched it out later) of some day being able to see a general who was neither "a Rebel or a Histerical Fool" at the head of the British Army in America.[8]

Despite such widespread bitter feeling, one can only suppose that militarism, like Anglicanism, must have made an extraordinary appeal to certain qualities of mind and spirit that some men in Connecticut possessed to a greater degree than did others. One must suppose that such qualities indicated a determination on the part of many colonials to live by codes of traditional respect for authority, including military authority. Despite widespread anti-British feeling, there would seem to be no other explanation for the behavior of the Connecticut Loyalists in general, and for Connecticut volunteers in Loyalist regiments in particular.

People Like Moses Dunbar

THE intensity of feeling over the activities of the Continental Congress in 1775 was reflected in Connecticut by the vigilante activities of the various local Committees of Safety (or of Inspection, or of Observation, as they were variously called). Such committees had been authorized by action of the General Assembly of the Colony, at the suggestion of the Congress. An example would be the committee in Woodstock, consisting of thirty of the "principal men" from "all parts"

of the town, which was empowered to hear complaints which might be sworn to by any enterprising citizen.

In the early phases of the American Revolution, this committee system was in full sway everywhere. A complaint was thus sworn out in Woodstock in August, 1775, against a certain Doctor Benjamin Hawley who, in the opinion of his accuser, was guilty of "Violating the Association" and "Expressly Disavowing" the "Doings of sd. Congress," and who had allegedly said that the acts of Parliament complained of as grievances were in fact "Constitutional." This was labeled as "Criminal opposition to the Rights and Liberties of ameraica. . . ."[1]

The strong-minded doctor was duly ordered to appear before the Committee and presumably ordered to explain away his remarks, but there is no record as to what actually transpired, or even that he appeared at all. (He might have been out on an "emergency" call at the time.)

Examples of this kind must have been almost endless, since "Tories" were widespread in several western Connecticut towns, such as Stamford, Redding, Newtown, and Waterbury. As was remarked long ago, it would be an almost endless task to track down all such cases in the voluminous public manuscripts.[2]

Among the most commonly suspected persons were members of the local militia. A case of this kind has already been noted for the West Company in Northbury, and individual examples elsewhere are numerous. It makes one wonder whether one scholar's supposition is correct, that the election of officers by the enrolled men may have led to "radical" tendencies on the part of the "train bands" when troubles with the mother country began to mount. At any rate, there were some "Tory" officers who now found their positions untenable.

The number of such officers who were complained about and duly "cashiered," or were forced to recant their opinions, is quite impressive. Some examples are worth noticing:[4]

Captain Abraham Blakesly of New Haven
Lieutenant Benjamin Kilborn of Litchfield
Captain Daniel Hill of Stamford
Lieutenant Peter Lyon of Stamford
Lieutenant Hezekiah Brown of Stamford
Captain Isaac Quintard of Stamford
Captain Nathaniel Shoyler of Middletown
Lieutenant Thomas Brooks of Farmington
Captain Jacob Perkins of Waterbury
Captain Samuel Wheat of Waterbury
Captain James Landon of Salisbury
Captain Solomon Marsh of Salisbury
Lieutenant Ira Beebe of Waterbury

In still another town, several newly-elected officers were reported as being unfriendly to the liberties of America, but nevertheless received commissions. On the other hand, in Newtown all of the officers in three companies were refused commissions by the General Assembly, and new elections ordered. Many other cases could be mentioned.

By the end of 1777, the militia situation must have been well in hand on the part of the local Patriot leaders; yet an occasional later case suggests that some disaffection even in the military kept cropping up. Perhaps this was due to fluctuations in the fortunes of war, and the temptation which all men of unsettled opinions in western Connecticut must have constantly faced of fleeing to the British lines.

The problem of determining who of all suspected "Tories" were the true Loyalists in western Connecticut is complicated by the activities there from time to time of that "most infamous banditti," the DeLancey Corps (actually two corps). These Loyalist regiments sometimes operated out of Westchester County, New York, in a manner that got them the reputation in Fairfield County of being cattle rustlers, *i. e.*, "cowboys" and "skinners." They had many sympathizers in Connecticut, and some Connecticut men who later settled in New Brunswick claimed to have had military service in the DeLancey Corps.

With the conclusion of the Revolution, the return of any of these men was bitterly opposed by local Patriots, as in Greenwich and Stamford. A "black list" of sixteen names of "Tories" who had committed depredations in Darien was also set up by a legislative committee at the end of the war. Something of the same seems to have been true for all Connecticut towns; persons deemed "dangerous" and "inimical" to the liberties of the State were everywhere blacklisted by the local selectmen, on instruction of the legislature. Such action was based on a law to prevent robberies and plundering by the State's open and secret enemies.

There is much to be said for the DeLancey Corps having been neither more-nor-less than military units acting under regular military discipline, but savage border incidents in the "neutral ground" of Westchester County certainly gave them a bad name. Many "cowboys" who acted in their shadow were probably little more than local roughnecks who were not loyal enough to stand openly with the King's soldiers, and who simply pillaged grain and cattle under the guise of sympathy for the Loyalists.

The necessity of "Whigs" in that region having to protect their cattle against such "Tory" activities has, in turn, given rise to many colorful stories.[5]

No doubt some "Tory" activity was simply criminal in nature, and not Loyalism at all. For example, late in the war there was an

ugly incident in Bethany where alleged "Tories" raided and robbed the house of an absentee Patriot soldier, after first tying up his wife. Most of the men were apprehended (just short of getting back to the British lines on Long Island, it is said), and were duly sent to Newgate Prison.

One of these men was from nearby Waterbury. Many years later an attempt was made by the selectmen of that town to get state aid to help support him (for he was now not only old and sick, but had long been a public charge). Their petition acknowledged that this man had once been convicted of both treason and of burglary, but said that all his property had been either confiscated or sold at the time to pay fines amounting to £500 lawful money.[6] Presumably the man had always been a criminal, albeit somewhat propertied; but the thought does arise whether one kind of "crime" may not sometimes have led to another. "Give a dog a bad name," etc. In parts of western Connecticut the American Revolution had been accompanied by all the horrors (and rumors of horrors) of a civil war.

The possibility of having one's political feelings influenced by personal interest was increased for all Connecticut men on the South Shore by the ever-present temptation of crossing the Sound to nearby Long Island, perhaps with food and forage. The "interest" might be pecuniary, but if the action were judged "traitorous," it could result in the confiscation of one's estate at home. Even greater difficulties could arise if an exile not only served in a Loyalist regiment, but then returned home to "recruit" neighbors for similar military service. This was what Moses Dunbar of Bristol did, and it resulted in his being hanged for treason in Hartford in March, 1777.

Altogether there were only about 150 estates confiscated for such reasons in Connecticut,[7] approximately two-thirds in the Probate Court Districts of Danbury and Fairfield. Some of these may have been valuable, but the total turnover in real estate could not have been great, except possibly in Fairfield County. One cannot help but wonder about the amount of property that may have been involved in the confiscation of the estate of some wealthy individual, whether there or elsewhere.

The records of the Superior Courts in the various counties of Connecticut[8] contain many instances of how this sort of thing was done, although the accounts tend to be rather formal and repetitious in referring to "wicked," "false," "felonious," and "traitorous" activities committed by persons who had joined "enemies" at "open war" with the "said States." A typical example runs:

> Fairfield Superior Court February Term 1779
>
> The Jurors for said County on their Oath present & say that Alexander McDougal of Stratford in said County being inimical & unfriendly to the Liberties & privileges of this & the rest of the United

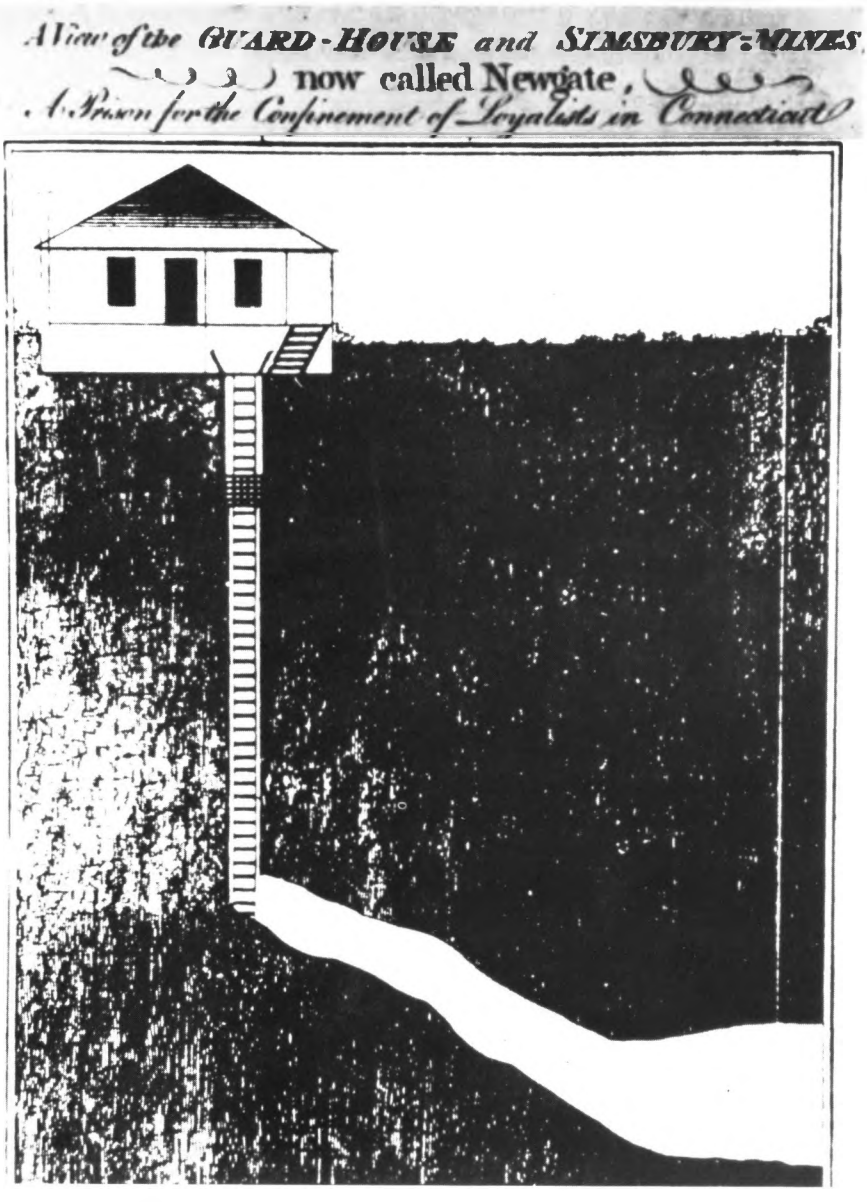
States of America did in said Stratford on the 28th day of May, A D 1777 unlawfully & traiterously form a design to go over to join with, aid, & assist the Enemies of this, & the rest of said States then & still at open War with this & the rest of said States, and that in pursuance of said design he the said Alexander McDougal on the same 28 Day of May aforesaid did knowingly willingly, traiterously & unlawfully go from Stratford aforesaid on Board of a certain Sloop then lying at said Stratford & in said Sloop did go over to Long Island in the State of New York then in possession of the Army of the King of Great Britain then & still at open War with this & the rest of said States and did then & there willingly & traiterously endeavour to put himself under the protection of said King & his Government & did endeavour to join said Army in order to aid, & assist them in carrying on said War against this, & the rest of said States against the peace, & contrary to the Form, Force, & Effect of the Statute Law of this State, entitled an Act for the punishment of High Treason & other atrocious Crimes against the State.

An amusing jury presentation of a "True bill" in the Superior Court of Fairfield in August, 1778, declared that a certain citizen of Stamford on the 19th of June, apparently assisted by brothers or cousins, did "wickedly, falsely, feloniously, and traiterously take & drive a large Number of fatted Cattle belonging to diverse Inhabitants of said Stanford [old spelling for Stamford] with Intent & Design therewith & thereby to supply the Subjects of the King of Great Britain then & still at open Warr with this and the Rest of the United States of America," and delivered the cattle to the British frigate *Halifax* in the harbour, to feed the officers and and "Sea Men."

To the charge of "High Treason" for this offense, the Attorney General added a dry note: "There being no Evidence to support this Indictment I will no further prosecute it."

Apart from records pertaining to confiscated estates and cases of inimicalness to American liberties, there are numerous instances of persons who petitioned to return to their homes as early as 1776 and many later, perhaps under the provision of the act of pardon in 1778. Some persons had merely been "Tories," some had even been "jailed," but all had changed their minds for one reason or another. Presumably, people's opinion had fluctuated with the fluctuations of war.

Take the case of John McKee of Norwalk. His estate had been confiscated and he had served a year in jail for assisting "Tories," but he asked the Connecticut Assembly for relief, and was allowed to remove to East Haddam as early as October, 1776. His must have been but one of many such cases in the first year of the war. A few months later, one Nathaniel Jones, together with sixteen other persons from Farmington, all of whom had been confined in prison for their "unfriendliness" to the United States, requested a committee to investigate their case, and were subsequently released on condition


A View of the GUARD-HOUSE and SIMSBURY-MINES
now called Newgate,
A Prison for the Confinement of Loyalists in Connecticut

Drawing of the entrance to New-Gate's mine which was used to hold prisoners. From *The Political Magazine*, October, 1781, published in London, England.

New-Gate Prison as it appears today. Connecticut Department of Commerce photo.

of their taking an oath of fidelity. Die-hard Tories like Ralph Isaacs and Abiathar Camp of New Haven were, of course, still refusing to do even that, although Isaacs later yielded.

In January, 1778, Samuel Hawley of Redding was granted release from jail. He had once joined the enemy on Long Island, but had never taken up arms and had returned to Connecticut on proclamation of General Putnam and had even taken an oath of fidelity, only to be jailed. The petition of David Munrow of Redding was flatly denied two months later. He had joined the British at the time of the Danbury raid and gone to Long Island where he remained until April, 1778, when he said that he had learned that a proclamation of pardon had been issued, and returned. Nehemiah Scribner of Norwalk was another Connecticut man who served the British and who was under sentence of death for treason at late as 1779, when his sentence was commuted to confinement in Newgate Prison.

Apparently, these were considered hard-shell cases, either for pardons or for any kind of outright leniency. There was also a divided vote in January, 1779, when Timothy Porter and others in Waterbury petitioned for pardon, after having served with the British forces. However, when Seth Warner of Waterbury petitioned for pardon that year (claiming that he had been "induced" to join the British but had returned at the risk of his life), the petition was granted, on condition. If Waterbury were willing, Warner could continue to live within its limits; if not, he was to be confined in Windsor.

In January, 1780, the petition of Stephen Gorham of Fairfield was denied. He claimed to have gone to Long Island on account of the enmity of his neighbors, but had returned and had served a term of imprisonment. Jonathan Bulkeley of Fairfield was granted temporary liberty in January, 1780, to go home to visit his family until he should be called for by the Commissary of Prisoners. He explained that he had been "taken prisoner" and held in New York until his recent return on parole. Petitions seem to have fallen off in 1781; but with the end of the fighting, petitions for return and the collection of debts tended to multiply, as one might expect. A post-war trend was soon evident, as seen in the petition of Samuel Roberts of Newtown in 1782, who had been "induced" to join the British early in the war (but had deserted them in South Carolina) and who was now released from the Litchfield jail on bond.

These are only a few selected contemporary cases, of course. Much of the material relating to pardons and confiscated estates is more properly a part of the rehabilitation period of Connecticut's post-Revolutionary history, and some persons never were forgiven. As late as 1805, one Abel Hall of Weston was unsuccessfully relating his war-time woes and losses: he had been opposed to the subjugation of the colonies (he said) but had preferred less aggressive meas-

ures for redress so that his house was broken into and he was put in jail; but he had been acquitted at trial, and that although he and his two sons had "opposed" the British Army, they had been "taken prisoner" and carried off to Long Island where he had been recaptured by the Patriots and jailed again in Fairfield and tried for treason, but again acquitted. He had had to pay all costs for this, he said, and had had some of his property confiscated, and he now wanted £196 reimbursement.

Such was the remembrance of an old man, a quarter-century after the event. It must be taken *cum grano salis*. It sounds like the earlier complaint of Joshua and Lydia Burt of Ridgefield in 1791 that said Joshua had hired a substitute to fight for him during the Revolution but that he had been "taken prisoner" by the British and carried off to Long Island. Meanwhile, his estate had been confiscated and Lydia's property had not only been damaged by an encampment, but had also been confiscated and given to the town of Norwalk "for loss of their meeting house." etc., etc.

Regardless of what one might think of the qualifications of any of the above persons to be considered as "true Connecticut Loyalists," there should be no doubt as to the true Loyalist character of those who left the colony to settle elsewhere, and who subsequently became claimants on the generosity of the British Crown. Regardless of the fact that these claims, too, are post-war, and regardless of any doubts as to the validity of the amounts claimed for losses, the claimants themselves can surely be so classified.

Of 150 such Connecticut claims recently analyzed, approximately half were filed in London immediately after the American Revolution, and half in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (the latter known as the "American claims").[10] All these Connecticut claimants were overwhelmingly Connecticut-born, were mostly farmers or merchants (only two ministers are included), and were largely from Norwalk, Stamford, Fairfield, and New Haven, as might have been expected. Although few in numbers, they must have been among the most active of the Loyalists during the war, and their numerical scarcity in Connecticut (as compared with New York, Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania) may be considered testimony to the undoubted severity with which all "Tory" resistance in that colony had been immediately faced in 1776.

Most of the Connecticut Loyalist claims are based on testimony taken in America, and again the presentation must be arbitrary.[11]

One of the first and most exhaustive is the memorial of the merchant, Abiathar Camp of New Haven, who said that from the commencement of the "troubles," he had been an active participant in opposition to the "promotion of rebellion," and (together with a majority of the inhabitants of the town) had opposed the choosing

of committees, and had refused to take an oath of fidelity. In September, 1776, he had been taken before the Assembly and exiled to other towns, but had left for good when he joined General Tryon in 1779. General Benedict Arnold submitted a certificate in 1786 to the effect that Camp had been active in procuring pilots and guides for the expedition against New London in 1781.

Joseph Chandler, also previously of New Haven, but just arrived in Nova Scotia from London, had Abiathar Camp as a witness to his claim.

The prominent surgeon, Joseph Clarke of Stratford, who had practiced "Physic & Surgery," had joined the British in 1776 and swore that he had personally recruited thirty-three men for the Prince of Wales American Regiment, in addition to acting (without pay) as surgeon at Lloyd's Neck on Long Island in later years. A witness also testified that a horse that Dr. Clarke had left behind him had been "rode to death" by a rebel.

Ledicia Cook of New Haven claimed that he had been so tormented by criticism (including threats of being put "into the mines," *i. e.*, the copper mines in Simsbury where Loyalists were often interned) that he had "quitted home" in 1779.

Joseph Lyon of Fairfield said that in February, 1775, he had signed a protest against the proceedings of the Congress, and was subsequently named as an enemy of America. He had been obliged to hide in the woods, but had no opportunity to join the British until Governor Tryon's expedition to "Danburgh." A witness swore that he had "lay in the woods" with Lyon for thirty-three days, that Lyon had been badly treated by "the mob," and had built a cave in the woods as a haven for persecuted Loyalists.

An interesting "New Claim" was made by a former public house keeper of New Milford, one Daniel Smith, who swore that he had been "confined" by a committee in 1776, but was nevertheless employed all that winter in taking men to Long Island. He had also had a "warrant" for recruiting men in Connecticut, but had been apprehended, jailed, and escaped. More particularly, Smith noted that he had owned 2,000 acres in "Susquehanna" which he had purchased for £12 five years previously, but that the settlers there had "been drove off by the Indians." Another Litchfield Loyalist swore that he had "lived on the Susquehanna" before the war.

A storekeeper and farmer in Stamford, Edward Thorp, claimed to have owned "600 acres at Lymington on the Mississippi," part of which had been given him for his services in the last war. He seems to have been a very active Loyalist, and had escaped on board the *Asia*. The Reverend Samuel Peters of Hebron testified that he had known Thorp for twenty years.

Most of these claims would suggest that Loyalism had been at its height in Connecticut early in the war in 1775 and 1776. However, Samuel Whiting, a hatter of Norwalk, claimed that he had crossed the Sound in 1780, giving warning of the arrival of a French fleet at Rhode Island, for which he was subsequently ill-used and tried for high treason.

If to the names of the many Connecticut men who settled in New Brunswick in 1783 one adds the names of all men who had left their homes during the war for political or religious reasons, or who had served in the various Loyalist regiments, or who became claimants for compensation from the British government after the Revolution, the list of "true Loyalists" in the Land of Steady Habits is more-or-less complete.

Examples illustrating all of these qualifications may sometimes be found in various members of a single family, as of the Jarvis (or Jervis) family of Stratford, Danbury, and Norwalk, headed by the Reverend Abraham Jarvis, himself. The Jarvises had also been soldiers, farmers, and blacksmiths, but mainly soldiers. The autobiography of Stephen Jarvis of Danbury, is worth noting.[12]

As a restless young man of eighteen, Stephen Jarvis was mightily interested in the political developments leading to the American Revolution, as well as in the attractions of a young Connecticut miss. He refused to serve in the local militia after the fall of New York to the British, and helped provide for three Tories who had escaped from the "Symsbury Mines." After months of adventures and skirmishes with the local officials, and innumerable trips to serve the Loyalists on Long Island, young Jarvis joined a Highland regiment in New York City, and eventually saw action at Brandywine. He later became a resident in New Brunswick, and subsequently in Upper Canada.

In light of the kaleidoscopic experiences suffered by such Connecticut Loyalists for military, political, or religious reasons, the hanging of Moses Dunbar for treason at Hartford on March 19, 1777, may seem almost anti-climactic. It is the only instance of the death penalty having been inflicted under the Connecticut law against traitors of the previous October, and the 30-year-old Moses was plainly guilty.

Nevertheless, his execution was unquestionably done, at least in part, as "an example" to others, although the fact that he was to be the one and only example could scarcely have been much comfort to him at the time.

Fortunately, Moses Dunbar was a man of deep religious convictions, as well as of high courage. That he had accepted a commission in Fanning's King's American Loyalist Regiment, and had then sought to recruit men in Connecticut for General Howe, was unquestionably true. He said so himself. It is also true that he had returned to Con-

The Reaſons and Deſign of public Puniſhments;

A

SERMON,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE PEOPLE WHO WERE COLLECTED TO THE

EXECUTION

OF

MOSES DUNBAR,

Who was condemned for HIGH TREASON againſt the STATE of CONNECTICUT, and executed MARCH 19th, A. D. 1777.

By *NATHAN STRONG,*

Paſtor of the firſt CHURCH in HARTFORD.

Bloody and deceitful Men ſhall not live out half their Days.

HARTFORD:

Printed and Sold by EBEN. WATSON,

M.DCC.LXXVII.

Title page of a pamphlet on the execution of Moses Dunbar. From a copy at the Connecticut Historical Society.

necticut from Long Island in 1777, primarily to see his children and to marry a second wife (the marriage banns had already been published), but had been "betrayed."

According to Dunbar's own account (written while under sentence of death), he had spoken out from the very beginning of the war against the unlawfulness of taking up arms against Great Britain, and had once been attacked by a mob and apprehended by a local committee. He had also recently escaped from the Hartford jail, but had been recaptured. He was duly executed before a large crowd of spectators on March 19 on a gallows erected on the hill south of Hartford, where Trinity College now stands. In view of his deep religious convictions, the site would seem today to have been quite fitting.

Dunbar's final statement (on the eve of that "awful day") expressed a confidence of departing in a state of peace, at ease with God and with his own conscience. He died in the "profession and communion of the Church of England."

There is a certain dignity to his final statement, clothed in admonitions of preparation for a future state of being for his countrymen to follow.

Of his political sentiments he simply said, "I leave the reader of these lines to judge." Under the circumstances, he did not think it necessary or proper to declare them.

The Removal North

If by Loyalists one means those persons who took refuge within the British lines during the American Revolution because of religious or political convictions, the total number of true Connecticut Loyalists must have been far greater than the number of those who actually saw military service in one or another of the Loyalist regiments. In some cases, of course, both experiences were had.

Many of the first type of Loyalist in Connecticut are said to have changed their minds and to have returned home as early as 1777. A considerable number of persons in both categories, however, removed to Nova Scotia at the end of the war. The true Connecticut Loyalists must therefore include all Connecticut Yankees who—for whatever reason—found new homes, with the coming of peace in 1783, in the maritime country to the north.

Of some 6,000 soldiers and heads of families who became permanent settlers in Nova Scotia, *i. e.,* New Brunswick, about thirteen

percent came from Connecticut alone (which is third for all the American states in this category, following New York with forty percent, and New Jersey with twenty-two percent).[1]

An interesting piece of evidence about the character of some of these Connecticut settlers is found in a remarkable document, witnessed in April, 1783, by Fyler Dibblee of Stamford, as "Deputy Agent." This was a ship manifest entitled a "Return of the Families, etc., Embarked on Board the Union Transport, Consett Wilson, Master, Began Huntington Bay April 11th, and Completed April 16, 1783."[2]

The manifest refers to the embarkation of Loyalists on the transport ship *Union* at Huntington, Long Island. Arriving at New York City, where forty-three of the passengers disembarked on April 23, the *Union* left the following day for the St. John River region on the rugged Bay of Funday coast as part of the famous "Spring Fleet." It must have been something like that voyage of the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower*, one hundred and fifty years earlier.

A general disembarkation at the site of the future town of Saint John, at the mouth of the river, was subsequently made by ten vessels over a period of days. About as many vessels again arrived there on later occasions that year, and several transports had already departed (one party of 300 as early as October, 1782) for other sites in Nova Scotia, such as at Port Roseway, Annapolis, and even Halifax. But the St. John River valley was recommended and was by far the place most frequently sought.

What is especially interesting about the first voyage of the *Union*, however (in addition to her original passenger list, to be discussed below), is that most of her passengers did not disembark at the mouth of the St. John River in May, 1783, but "remained comfortable on board ship."

Why did her passengers show so little enthusiasm for the original landing? What did they suppose was to be their ultimate destination? One can only note here that three of their number were sent farther up the river several days later to pick out a special site for settlement, one which proved to be the site of the future town of Kingston. The passengers on the *Union* were joined in their remarkable journey up the Belleisle by other passengers from the sister ship, the *Hope* (a vessel of 286 tons carrying 172 persons), and also perhaps by some of the passengers aboard the larger ship, *Aurora*.[3]

A clue to the reason for this remarkable searching out for a new site of settlement is suggested by the journey of the *Hope*, which, together with the *Union*, had also carried a number of Loyalists from the Lloyd's Neck region at Huntington Bay to New York City in early April, but had retained them on board ship in the St. John River area until June 1.

In short, most of the passengers on board both the *Union* and the *Hope* appear to have originated in the Land of Steady Habits. "They were predominantly a Connecticut group who had been living together on Long Island; they had a strong sense of community. . . ."[4]

"A strong sense of community," this probably could have been said about many other Loyalists from many other places. Whatever of special interest, or special pleading, or cowardice, or weakness that individual Loyalists may have been accused of from time to time, all Loyalists must have had a general sense of community with certain fellow Loyalists, whether they were from Connecticut, or Pennsylvania, or Georgia, or wherever. All must have remembered neighbors from home, in addition to whatever they all had in common in other respects.

Who were these passengers on the transport *Union* who had left Huntington Bay on April 16, 1783?

Out of 65 "signers" of this remarkable document (in addition to 35 women, 59 children over 10 years of age, 48 children under 10 years, and two servants), 35 are given as of Connecticut origin. This is over half the entire number. The list is worth recording:

Fyler Dibblee of Stamford (spelled "Stanford")
Walter Dibblee of Stamford
William Dibblee of Stamford
John Lyon of Redding
John Lyon, Jr. of Redding
Reuben Lyon of Redding
David Picket of Stamford
Ebenezer Deforest of Redding
Seth Squires of Stratford
Seth Squires, Jr., of Stratford
Abram Carrington of Milford
William Straight of Killingsworth
Seth Seely of Stamford
Seth Seely, Jr., of Stamford
Israel Hait of Norwalk
Widow Mary Raymond of Norwalk
Silas Raymond of Norwalk
James Picket of Norwalk
Louis Picket of Norwalk
Walter Bates of Stamford
John Gordon of Danbury
Joseph Lyon of "Connecticut"
Widow Hester Burlock of Norwalk
Stephen Fountain of Stamford
Abram Dickerson of New Haven

George Lumsden of New Haven
Elias Scribner of Norwalk
Hezekiah Scribner of Norwalk
Thaddeus Scribner of Norwalk
Joseph Ferris of Newtown
Solomon Tucker of Stamford
Daniel Smith of New Milford
Abel Bardsley of Fairfield
Ephraim Lane of Fairfield
John Marvin of Norwalk

It is interesting to note that slightly over half of the Connecticut signers are designated "farmers," although a small minority are called "shoemakers," and an even smaller minority, "carpenters." The Deputy Agent, Fyler Dibblee, apparently, was the only attorney-at-law aboard ship.

The overwhelming majority was, of course, from Fairfield County, and especially from the Town of Stamford.

Few of these signers could have been among those persons who disembarked at New York City in the early stage of the voyage. Almost without exception, they became permanent settlers in the new province to the north, and doubtless were among those who settled, first, at Kingston, or later up the river at Woodstock. King's County in New Brunswick was to become their territory.

The story of the Loyalists in Connecticut is thus intimately connected with the fortunes of those persons who had escaped to form communities in the Huntington and Port Jefferson areas on Long Island, or in New York City. These places on Long Island also became notorious as bases for an illicit "whale boat" trade with Connecticut in the dark of night; but primarily it was the traffic in people that gave them their reputation. Lloyd's Neck, on the eastern shore of Huntington Bay, was especially known as a place of refuge for persons who sought to escape from the vigilance of local committees of safety or inspection on the opposite shore.

It was the colonies of Loyalists in this area—at Huntington Bay (Lloyd's Neck and Eaton's Neck) and at Oyster Bay—that were visited in April, 1783, by the Reverend John Sayre, formerly rector of Trinity Church in Fairfield, Connecticut, who carried the news of the acreage being offered to refugees in Nova Scotia. Sayre was one of the "Agents" who had been chosen the previous year by the Lloyd's Neck refugees. Most of the Loyalists in that area had doubtless come from Connecticut originally. Two hundred acres were to be given to each family, plus two years' provisions and a free passage for all.

Such promises of reward for faithfulness and courage were somewhat less than many Loyalists had been hoping for; but that any compensation at all was forthcoming must have been a clear victory

from their point-of-view. This was especially true for the motley group of refugees in New York City, in view of the rumors of a peace settlement said to be held by the political Whigs in England (who were accused of favoring peace with America at any price, particularly in view of the international situation—perhaps even a recognition of American independence).

It was the Board of Associated Loyalists, not formally organized in New York City until December, 1780, which now gave wide currency to the word, "Loyalist" (superceding Tory, King's man, Royalist, etc.), and which now attempted to organize the claims of all refugees. Monetary allowances to unemployable or "distressed" Loyalists had indeed been handled (in no doubt a somewhat capricious manner) by Colonel Roger Morris since January, 1779, but a protest by 350 persons on Christmas Day, 1781, condemned the "Ill Usage" which Morris was said to have been practicing. Distinguished representatives of displaced persons from many parts of northern America, such as Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, had also been holding weekly meetings in New York for some time. The city must have been overcrowded to the point of bursting. About 8,000 members of eighteen Loyalist regiments were also on hand, in addition to the civilian refugees themselves.

With the arrival in New York City in 1782 of Sir Guy Carleton as the new British Commander-in-Chief, the old Board of Associated Loyalists was broken up (or its director may have resigned in disgust at the attitude of the British Parliament towards the war). Sir Guy now organized a new Board, and he personally supervised the evacuation of all Loyalists.

It was this "new" Board which issued a report in April, 1782, giving a "List of Persons recommended" which contained the names of 452 Loyalists, forty of whom came from Connecticut. Again, New York led the list with 208 names, with eighty-one from New Jersey, but only twenty-two from Massachusetts.

News of the preliminary peace agreements did not reach New York City until March, 1783, but rumors had long been in circulation. It immediately threw the Loyalists into a state of anger and despondency because of the recognition of the independence of the United States and because of the weak provisions for the restitution of Loyalists' losses. It was a "peace without honor." Sir Guy Carleton could only hope to turn aside the passion of those persons who seemed determined to "abide any Extremity" rather than to submit to their late domestic foes. Although he stripped all Loyalist leaders on Long Island of what small powers they still retained, he also encouraged all refugees who intended to settle in Nova Scotia to appoint "agents" for that purpose (such as the Reverend John Sayre of Fairfield, and Amos Botsford, Esquire, of Newtown, for the Lloyd's Neck group,

and Joshua Chandler, Esquire, of New Haven, for the Loyalist refugees in Queen's County, Long Island). A "Board of Agents" was set up with the Reverend Samuel Seabury as President, and Sampson Salter Blowers (Harvard, 1763, one-time friend of John Adams and Samuel Quincy, and former Secretary of the old Board of Associated Loyalists) as General Secretary.

While thus attempting to encourage resettlement on the part of Loyalist civilians, Carleton also encouraged the presentation of a memorial (in final form, probably the work of Benjamin Thompson, the later Count Rumford), by officers of the thirteen or so Loyalist regiments in New York City. This requested that grants of land in "some of His Majesty's American Provinces" should also be made to them.

All this culminated, as a part of the general Loyalist removal, in the departure of many officers and "yeomen" for the upper reaches of the St. John River, notably to the site of the village of St. Ann (later designated Fredericton, the capitol of the new province of New Brunswick). The officers, presumably, had had a fairly good idea of the terms of the peace treaty when they had submitted their memorial to Carleton. Obviously, too, the soldierly Sir Guy was deeply in sympathy with all men of military rank, including those in the "Provincials."

There had long been an official interest in British circles as to the possibility of a new province of Loyalists being established in the maritime region to the north (of so much significance to Connecticut men in later years). Yet, the Shelburne ministry, in its search for peace, now seemed to the Loyalists to be willing to abandon all of Canada and Nova Scotia in order to promote Anglo-American amity in the face of a new Bourbon threat. This "Whig" attitude was bitterly resented by the American Loyalists, who had been accustomed to receiving support from "Tory" elements in the old North ministry; but their criticism of Shelburne was probably due to a mistrust of his character, rather than to the principles he professed.

A leading English advocate of "Tory" views towards America had been the unfortunate Under Secretary of State for American affairs during the war, William Knox. After 1778, he had advocated the creation of a new "Ireland" in America, between the Penobscott River and Passamaquoddy Bay. His idea was to preserve the royal prerogative by supporting people who believed in that prerogative, and the plan was eventually approved by King George, himself, as might have been expected.[6]

The American Loyalists naturally came to favor such a relocation scheme, since all else seemed lost. Having long been critical of "Whig" attitudes for conciliation with America (such as General Howe had apparently held early in the war), they continued to resent what they

rather unfairly considered to be the Shelburne peace objectives at the end of the conflict.

It is curious to note that in some ways the American Loyalists became more anti-British, certainly more anti-Whig, than some of the American Patriots themselves. Apparently they had forgotten those "Whig-Loyalists" who had once refused to support the rebellion, also. Continuing in their old "Tory" capacity, some of them continued to abhor the memory of William Pitt. Had he not rejoiced that America had resisted at the time of the Stamp Act crisis?[7]

A polarity of political sentiment, in Connecticut as elsewhere, seems to have increased as the war progressed. Criticism of British military management of the Loyalist regiments had always been widespread, and it had grown as the fortunes of war declined. Compensation and removal to a new land was all that now remained to those men who had been faithful to their old allegiance—to men who considered themselves, to the bitter end, to be the true "friends of government."

Rehabilitation

It has long been a matter of pride for Connecticut's historians to be able to say that the state's policy towards Loyalists after the American Revolution was tempered with generosity and mercy. As was boasted in a Tercentenary pamphlet some forty years ago, the conduct of both Patriots and Loyalists had usually been governed by "noble motives." A spirit of mutual conciliation had saved many good citizens for Connecticut's future, perhaps "a larger proportion of the loyalists" than in most of other states.[1]

Similar sentiments were long ago expressed by another native historian, who quoted from contemporary documents. Officials in high authority in Connecticut, even during the war, had always been ready to forgive, he said, "even willing to exercise levity and mercy" so long as this was consistent with the public safety; they had had "large and noble hearts" full of "tenderness and compassion." Another scholar was to sum up the matter judiciously a few years later by saying of the state, "Though her attitude toward the Loyalists was firm and decided, it was not vindictive or revengeful."

An Episcopal Church historian (who sympathized with those who had suffered exile for their convictions) emphasized that Connecticut did not share in the general spirit of resentment that appeared after the war, although he praised the courage of those of

the old Anglican clergy who stayed behind to "fight the good fight" rather than to emigrate.

Recent scholarship does indeed confirm such statements that post-Revolutionary policies in Connecticut sought for reconciliation with the remnant of the Loyalists; but it also emphasizes that this was due, among other things, to a growing recognition for the need to preserve local capital and to encourage commerce in the state. Loyalism was now a part of economic conservatism in Connecticut, something it had never been before.[2]

After years of Revolutionary aberration, the people of Connecticut seem to have been tilting, not so much backward in the direction of the old Land of Steady Habits, as forward in the direction of the Nutmeg State. Little may have been changed in Connecticut's political structure as a result of the Revolutionary upheavel, but some economic changes had taken place.

In other words, the adoption of policies of reconciliation with the Loyalists after the war did not necessarily mean political relaxation. With new economic and social problems in the offing, conservatism was now developed as a political force of entirely new dimensions. Connecticut continued to be a land with many regional differences, but it now had new state-wide problems to be solved.

For one thing, the war debts still had to be paid, and young Alexander Hamilton (like a later-day George Grenville) was already lurking in the wings, with many friends in Connecticut, as elsewhere. Indeed, young Hamilton had become a brother-in-law to John Carter, the wartime partner of Connecticut's leading business entrepreneur, Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, under whose leadership a new group of young businessmen had emerged during the war.

After the American Revolution, Connecticut was faced with a choice of action. It could either seek economic independence by developing and adopting commercial policies which would encourage the local merchants and their allegedly-wealthy, Loyalist friends, or it could adhere to a vague political doctrine that would place the "confederated welfare of the United States" above that of any single state.

It was localism *versus* nationalism. It identified the remaining Loyalists with local interests.

Or at least, this seemed to be true. If so, surely nothing could have revealed more dramatically the changed character of the Loyalists, who had once been identified with the larger authority as against the lesser. An argument against their unpatriotic localism was strongly voiced in the columns of the *Connecticut Gazette* in May, 1783, perhaps the high-water-mark period of anti-Loyalist feeling in that state.

Economic forces favoring a more vigorous national point of view were, of course, already at work on Loyalists as on all conservatives, together with rumors of social disintegration that eventually helped to woo men from local viewpoints. The anti-Loyalist attitude of the Connecticut Assembly in 1783 was itself soon blunted.

Although the Assembly did not completely abolish its anti-Loyalist legislation until 1787, it is clear that new winds of interest were blowing as early as 1783. Many individual towns continued to act hostilely towards returning "Tories," but the state itself had already begun to give ground. The seaports in particular, seeking capital and commercial leadership, soon began to follow suit, and some became incorporated as cities. The agricultural element was thus often isolated, but apparently kept silent, perhaps exhausted with its exertions over the war years.

The expression, "Loyalist," was soon in the process of being forgotten. Indeed, it is difficult to apply the term "Loyalist" to everyone who now returned to Connecticut. Many "true Loyalists" had left for good. Those who returned after the war (or those who were in sympathy with them) might better be called political "conservatives," although they were often labeled "Tory" at the time.

Political nomenclature had come the full circle in Connecticut between 1763 and 1787: from Conservative to Tory to Loyalist, and back to Loyalist, Tory, and Conservative, again. It only prolongs the old confusion in nomenclature to identify "Loyalist" with "Tory," as was so often done in the local press after the war. The comparison seems pointless here, however significant or convenient it may have been to many "Patriots" of the day. Conservatism may not have created Loyalism originally, but discredited Loyalism surely contributed to the forming of a new political conservatism after the American Revolution.

An example of how a "true Loyalist" might have been influenced to return may be found in the case of the physician, Ebenezer Punderson, of Norwich. He had left home in 1775, taking his family with him to Long Island, and had served in the Commissariat department for the British. In 1784, he petitioned the Connecticut Assembly to have his "estate" returned to him, clear of debts. (A not unfriendly investigator who thought the estate probably insolvent, declared that the Pundersons had already returned to Norwich without exciting any uneasiness.) The petition said that, unhappily, Punderson had greatly "mistook" his interest in abandoning his "Good Estate" for "the Sake of a Prince whose Provisions for his most Faithful Loyalists is no more than a Place of Residence in the barren, frozen, region of Nova Scotia."[3]

Presumably, the Pundersons had not liked their brief residence in the north.

What had happened to families like the Pundersons was that a new order of things, and a new sense of self-interest divorced from any larger responsibilities, had now come about. It was the way in which the world was moving. Loyalists were simply reclaiming their old interests in every possible way.

Even some modifications in the "confiscated estates" category were now discernable for the benefit of the Connecticut Loyalists. No confiscated estates were "*un*confiscated," of course, but old debts against such estates were now to be collected, and wives and children permitted to enjoy what remained of their heritage. A general mood of rehabilitation spread throughout the Land of Steady Habits during the decade of the 1780's.

A few specific cases will illustrate how some of the war-time vigilance was gradually relaxed, usually in the name of property rights.[4] As early as 1782, an administrator of a confiscated estate was given permission to pay the debts of an accused citizen of Stamford. Three years later, on petition, the heirs of Justin Sherman of New Milford, "who joined the enemy in the late war & whose estate was confiscated," were given liberty to buy it back.

The rights of wives and children of Loyalists were soon being widely heeded. The son of a convicted Tory was permitted in 1790 to hold what was yet unsold of his father's estate.

As time went on, there was not even a question about the right of old "enemies of the state" to return, to collect debts against their confiscated estates. It was so decided in favor of Abraham Bates of New York (formerly of Stamford) in 1790; also in the case of Joseph Clark of Stratford that year; also of Stephen Mix of North Haven, and of Josiah Redding of Ridgefield.

In extreme cases, of course, there never was any relenting, even in the next century.

The changing religious situation in the "Critical Period" was of special importance to the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut, many of whose colleagues had already removed to New Brunswick. Only the remnants of an "official" church remained. The Congregational Church was still clearly "the" established church in Connecticut, as indeed it always had been so far as the bulk of taxes went. The Venerable Society in England was also no longer interested in supporting "missionary work" in lands now alien to the King of England.

Lamentations about war-time suffering continued to be heard in the years of peace, as by the greyhaired Reverend Ebenezer Diblee of Stamford. The destruction of church property, the waste of the glebe lands, the personal dangers, the flight of his son and of so many of his parishioners to New Brunswick, all continued to be remembered, offset only by the determination of persons like himself "to ride out the storm."[5]

Although this old man, now in his "winter of life," had admittedly suffered no violence in performing his religous duties since the reopening of his church in 1779 (it had been shut up since the "declaration of Independency"), he had had no public tax support since 1774.

He remained thoroughly dispirited. He could not even rejoice at Samuel Seabury's consecration as bishop for Connecticut at the hands of the "non-juring" bishops of Scotland in 1784. This was "Climbing over the Wall," coming in at the "back Dore," and was an insult to the British clergy. "We are not all Jacobites," he protested. Could not Doctor Seabury have obtained ordination in any other way than one "so obnoxious to Revolutional Principles?" he demanded. Obviously, the Reverend Ebenezer Diblee had always been in sympathy with the principles of the Glorious Revolution. If he was at all typical of his fellow clergymen in Connecticut, then some of those Episcopal clergy who had stayed behind with him may have been probably somewhat less "Tory" than those who had gone into exile.

Within a few years, however, this one-time critic had become completely reassured by Bishop Seabury's "wise and prudent conduct," and had even become reconciled to the new Prayer Book of 1789 (although he gloomily predicted that it would never be completely agreeable to "the old Tory Church men").

Unfortunately, religious sectaries of all kinds abounded. All that seemed to matter now was whether a man was a good "citizen." "We shall soon be as thorough paced Republicans in Church as in State," the old man lamented. By 1793, he was convinced that any lack of support for public religion would be an "unhappy case" for either Episcopalians or Congregationalists.

So, now, the two religions were being bracketed together. Even "sober dissenters" could be identified with the public need. A tranquilized lion had finally come to lie down with the lamb. In Connecticut, the Revolution was over.

Notes

THE LAND, ITS PEOPLE, AND ITS HISTORY

1. For a general description of the land, see Thomas A. Cook, *Geology of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1933), and Albert L. Olson, *Agricultural Economy and the Population of Eighteenth-Century Connecticut* (Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut Pamphlet #40, New Haven, 1935). Statistics are available in Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1800* (Washington, D. C., 1925), p. 120.

2. For the colony as a whole before the American Revolution, see Albert E. Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York, 1961), 105 ff., and Oscar Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1949, reprinted by Archon Books, 1970), esp. pp. 15, 16, 27, 109, 223; also Lawrence Henry Gipson, *Jared Ingersoll: A Study of American Loyalism in Relation to British Colonial Government* (New Haven, 1920, reprinted as *American Loyalist: Jared Ingersoll* by Yale University Press, 1971), *passim.* On page 198n are some reasons for eastern Connecticut having earned the reputation of being more radical than the western part of the colony. On the Episcopal movement generally, see Bruce E. Steiner, *Samuel Seabury, 1729-1796: A Study In The High Church Tradition* (Athens, Ohio, 1972), *passim*; also Glenn Weaver, "Anglican-Congregationalist Tensions in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XXVI, (Sept., 1957). There is relevant material about the colony on the eve of the Revolution in Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends* (Providence, 1965), pp. 59, 60, 355.

3. *Cf.* Richard W. Van Alstyne, *The Genesis of American Nationality* (Waltham, Mass., 1970), *passim.*

4. Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy,* p. 30.

5. Gipson, *Ingersoll,* pp. 253, 259, and *The Coming of the Revolution* (New York, 1954), pp. 127, 128.

6. Steiner's *Seabury* has a number of references to Johnson; see also Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy,* pp. 28, 29.

7. *Ibid,* pp. 6, 7.

8. Gipson, *Ingersoll,* pp. 30, 31.

9. *Cf.* Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge, 1967), esp. p. 287; the rise of commercial interests is also noted in Olson, *Agricultural Economy,* p. 4.

10. On Clap, see Louis Leonard Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist: The Life of Thomas Clap* (Chapel Hill, 1960), *passim.*

11. *Cf.* Williston Walker, "The Sandemanians of New England," American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1901 (Washington, D. C., 1902).

12. Chester M. Destler, "Connecticut in the American Revolution, The Sons of Liberty and Resistance to the Stamp Act, 1765-1766," *The Lure of the Litchfield Hills,* Vol. III (1970) esp. p. 57; also George C. Groce, Jr., "Eliphalet Dyer: Connecticut Revolutionist," in *Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene* (New York, 1939), p. 296.

13. Gipson, *Coming of the Revolution,* p. 128.

14. The Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D., *General History of Connecticut From Its First Settlement . . . With An Appendix Pointing Out the Causes of the Rebellion in America . . . To Which Are Added Additions . . . By Samuel Jarvis McCormick* (New York, 1887; first published in London in 1781), *passim;* Walter Bates, *Kingston and the Loyalists of 1783,* edited with notes by Rev. W. O. Raymond (Saint John, N. B., 1889), Part II.

15. Gipson, *Ingersoll,* p. 50 ff. Page 50n of this work contains some fascinating reflections on the roots of Loyalism in New England.

16. *Cf.* Lawrence H. Leder, ed., *The Colonial Legacy: Loyalist Historians* (2 vols. New York, 1971), I, *passim.*

17. Peters, *General History, passim;* esp. p. 229.

18. Evarts B. Green, "William Samuel Johnson and the American Revolution," *Columbia University Quarterly,* No. 22 (1930), pp. 157-158.

19. Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy,* p. 50; Destler, "Connecticut in the American Revolution," *loc. cit.,* p. 57.

20. Irving Henry King, "The S. P. G. in New England, 1701-1784" (Ph. D. dissertation of the University of Maine, 1968. University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan), pp. 243, 249.

21. Van Dusen, *Connecticut,* pp. 132, 137, 140 ff.; also Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy,* pp. 137, 162, 177, *et passim.*

22. On this question, and for the discussion that follows, I am deeply indebted to the concluding chapter, XIII, "A Summary View," in Oscar Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy,* p. 219 ff., including notes. This splendid work has, of course, been referred to many times throughout this chapter.

23. William A. Benton, *Whig-Loyalism: An Aspect of Political Ideology in the Revolutionary Era* (Rutherford, New Jersey, [1969]), *passim.*

RELIGIOUS LOYALISM

1. Van Dusen, *Connecticut,* p. 144; Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, 1965), p. 62.

2. Van Dusen, *Connecticut,* pp. 132, 137, 140-145, 171.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 144, 145; also Brown, *King's Friends,* pp. 60, 254, 255, 289.

4. Such an exchange of names is commonly made, as in Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick,* (Moncton, N. B., 1955), p. 2. On page 23, Wright discusses the origins of the term "Loyalist," and says it was perpetuated for general use by the Associated Loyalists (whose stronghold was on Long Island) in 1780, although it had been used for local purposes as early as 1775.

5. G. A. Gilbert, "The Connecticut Loyalists," *American Historical Review,* IV (1899), p. 276.

6. *Cf.* Brown, *The King's Friends,* pp. 73, 74.

7. *Cf.* Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind From the Great Awakening to the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1966), *passim.*

8. Figures on the expenditures of the Venerable Society and the number of "missionaries" in Connecticut, are found in an old work by E. Edwards Beardsley, D. D., *The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, from the Settlement of the Colony to the Death of Bishop Seabury* (New York, 1866), pp. 270, 271, 276; Peters, *General History,* p. 172, has slightly lower figures. Steiner, *Seabury,* p. 274 ff., gives a map of Connecticut and Rhode Island Anglican congregations formed before 1771. See also John Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues: The S. P. G. Adventure in American Education* (New York, 1971). On the effect of the Quebec Act, see Irving Henry King, "The S. P. G. in New England. 1701-1784" (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968), p. 246. For the background of the struggle, see Glenn Weaver, "Anglican-Congregationalist Tensions in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut," *loc. cit.,* p. 268 ff.

9. Peters, *General History,* p. 171.

10. Peters, *General History,* p. 227; also Beardsley, *Episcopal Church in Connecticut,* pp. 251, 267, 283.

11. *Cf.* Beardsley, *Episcopal Church in Connecticut,* pp. 251, 267, 283.

12. Steiner, *Seabury,* pp. 54, 99, 102.

13. Peters, *General History,* p. 169.

14. Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.* (New York, 1864), II, 199, 244 ff. (Sayre's name is spelled "Sawyer"), also Sayre's letter to The Venerable Society in Beardsley, *Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, pp. 325-6. The conflict inherent in Anglicanism is perhaps even better illustrated by the "checkered" career of John Sayre's brother, James, one-time chaplain of a Loyalist Regiment and later priest at Stratford, who is said to have terminated his life in Fairfield in 1798 under conditions of "insanity."

15. On Viets' experience after 1788, the Roger Viets Papers in The Connecticut Historial Society, give considerable insight. See especially Viets' letters from Digby, N. S., to his brother, Abner, of Granby, September 29, 1788, and July 29, 1797.

MILITARY LOYALISM

1. Much of this chapter is based on Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Moncton, N. B., 1955), which contains a remarkable list of some 6,000 settlers; also "The Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut" by W. H. Siebert (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Section II, 1916); also the Revolutionary War Records in the Connecticut Archives, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Third Series, Vol. II; and the Connecticut Claims in Volume XII of the Transcripts of Loyalist Claims in the New York Public Library. The overall story is best found in a scholarly volume by W. Stewart MacNutt, *New Brunswick: A History 1784-1857* (Toronto, 1963). The story of Justus Sherwood is told in an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation at the University of Western Ontario by Ian Pemberton.

2. Siebert, "Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut," *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

3. The figures of military service for New Brunswick settlers given in the appendix to Wright's *Loyalists of New Brunswick*, p. 255 ff., indicate that even more Connecticut men had served in one or other of the DeLancey Brigades than in the Queen's Ranger's (not to mention the King's American Regiment). See also the revisionest article by Catherine Crary, "Guerrilla Activities of James DeLancey's Cowboys: Traditional warfare or Self-Interested Freebooting" (to be published in the Tarrytown Conference *Papers*).

4. Siebert, "Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut," *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

5. *Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826*, Printed under the auspices of the New Brunswick Historical Society. Edited by Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A. (St. John, N. B., 1901), p. 17.

6. The list of Waterbury Loyalists originally given in Henry Bronson, *The History of Waterbury, Connecticut* (Waterbury, 1858), is here taken from Joseph Anderson, ed., *The Town and City of Waterbury, Connecticut* (3 Vols. New Haven, 1896), I, 458 ff. A somewhat more sophisticated list of Loyalists may be found in Rev. E. B. Huntington, *History of Stamford, Connecticut, from Its Settlement . . . including Darien* (Published by the author [Stamford?], 1868), pp. 203 ff.

7. Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War Records, Third Series, I, 120.

8. *Cf.* Catherine Crary, "DeLancey's Cowboys," *loc. cit.*

9. *Winslow Papers*, p. 53n.

10. Siebert, "Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut," *loc. cit.*, pp. 81, 84.

11. I am again referring to the monograph by Esther Clark Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick*, *passim.*

12. *Winslow Papers*, esp. pp. 25, 40, 41, 42, 65, 67, 69.

PEOPLE LIKE MOSES DUNBAR

1. William Cothen, *History of Ancient Woodbury* (Waterbury, 1854), p. 188.

2. James Shepard, "The Tories of Connecticut," *Connecticut Quarterly,* IV (1898), p. 139.

3. Gipson, *Ingersoll,* p. 31.

4. Shepard, "The Tories of Connecticut," *loc. cit.*, p. 140 ff.

5. *Cf.* Huntington, *Stamford,* pp. 216, 220; Herbert F. Sherwood, M. A., *The Story of Stamford* (New York, 1930), pp. 144, 149.

6. Bronson, *Waterbury,* p. 356; Connecticut Revolutionary Archives, 3rd Series, I, 117a.

7. This is based on a list of probate cases about confiscations contained in the correspondence labeled "Loyalists" in the "Vertical File" of Local History in the Connecticut State Library.

8. Many (but not all) of these Superior Court records have been transferred to Vault 14 in the Connecticut State Library, and may be seen there in their original grime and red tape binding.

9. These cases are taken from the Index to the Connecticut Revolutionary Archives, Series I, in the Connecticut State Library, under the heading "Loyalists."

10. The following is based on Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends,* pp. 59 ff., and pp. 254, 255, 259, 302.

11. *The Second Report of the Archivist of Ontario, 1904.* Claims submitted in London (where the Connecticut claimants did not even have an agent) is apparently among material long-since lost. There is, fortunately, a simple index of names of such claimants, and the supporting evidence (often including the original memorials) in the bundles in A. O. 13 in the Public Record Office. See the letter of B. F. Stevens to Dr. J. S. Billings, the Director of the New York Public Library, April 26, 1900, in the "Check List" volume of the Transcripts of Loyalist Claims in the Manuscripts Room of the N. Y. P. L.; see also the index to the London claimants in Vol. 33 of these transcripts; see also Brown's remarks (*The King's Friends,* p. 387). Vol. XII of the Loyalist Transcripts in the N. Y. P. L. contains much of the material in *The Second Report of the Archivist of Ontario, 1904,* referred to above. The microfilm of A. O. 13 material is in the possession of Joseph R. Frese, S. J., Professor of American History at Fordham University.

12. The Autobiography of Stephen Jarvis is in The New York Historical Society.

13. This account follows that in Epaphroditus Peck, *The Loyalists of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1934), p. 22 ff.

THE REMOVAL NORTH

1. *Wright, Loyalists of New Brunswick,* p. 155.

2. Bates, *Kingston and the Loyalists,* p. 12.

3. Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* pp. 48, 70, 71, 72, 74.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 74.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

6. *Cf.* MacNutt, *New Brunswick,* pp. 11, 12, 13, 42, 45; also, Richard B. Morris *The Peacemakers* (New York, 1965), p. 270.

7. W. O. Raymond, "Loyalists in Arms," *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society,* Vol. II (1904), p. 189; MacNutt, *New Brunswick,* p. 17.

1. Epaphroditus Peck, *The Loyalists of Connecticut*, p. 30.

2. Shepard, "The Tories of Connecticut," *loc. cit.*, p. 291; Beardsley, *Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, p. 353 ff.; Oscar Zeichner, "The Rehabilitation of Loyalists in Connecticut," *New England Quarterly*, XI (1938), 329, 330; Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1938), pp. 249, 266, 267.

3. Doc. 305a, Connecticut Revolutionary Archives, 1st Series, XXVII, in the Connecticut State Library.

4. These cases are taken from the Connecticut Revolutionary Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. 2.

5. The Letters of Reverend "Ebenezer Diblee" (as he signed himself) to Reverend Samuel Peters in London, are in the *Historical Magazine of the Ptotestant Episcopal Church*, II, (1932). The name is variously spelled "Dibblee," "Dibble," etc. I am indebted to the late Professor Catherine S. Crary for this material.

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